Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color: Recruiting and Hiring

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RACIAL DISPROPORTIONALITY AS EXPERIENCED BY EDUCATORS OF COLOR: RECRUITING AND HIRING

Dissertation in Practice
by

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Dr. Lauri Johnson (Chair)
Dr. Oh Myo Kim
Dr. James Marini (Readers)

Abstract

This qualitative case study explored how educators of color experienced recruitment and hiring practices in the Cityside Public School District (pseudonym). It was part of a larger group case study that sought to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. Two research questions guided this individual study: (1) How do Cityside educators of color experience Cityside's recruitment and/or hiring processes? (2) What practices and policies might Cityside school and district level leaders utilize to increase the number of educators of color recruited and hired? Data for this study were collected from semi-structured interviews with nine Cityside faculty of color and with six Cityside administrators (of different races), as well as from a document review. Analysis of these data through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT) revealed study participants' perception that implicit racial bias had the potential to negatively impact Cityside's hiring of educators of color. Additionally, leveraging social networks as an essential recruitment strategy to increase the presence of educators of color, and the benefits of hiring committees with a racially diverse membership, emerged as key findings. Finally, this study illuminated counter narratives that powerfully captured instances of microaggressions and perceived racism experienced by Cityside educators of color. Recommendations include requiring professional development with an anti-bias focus for all hiring committee participants, increasing the utilization of social networks to enhance recruitment efforts, ensuring a racially diverse composition of hiring committees, and actively seeking the counter narratives of Cityside educators of color.

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Dedication

To my husband, Greg, for his never-ending love and support.

To Cooper and Corbin, my two favorite little boys in the whole entire world.

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CHAPTER 1[1]

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Statement of Problem and Purpose

The demographics of the United States population are shifting dramatically. This shift is due to increased birth rates within populations of color and immigration (Boser, 2014). As a result, schools that once catered to a mostly White student body are now educating children from a number of different races and ethnicities (Frey, 2011). This is true in almost every state (Boser, 2014) and in urban (Achinstein, Ogawa, Sexton, & Freitas, 2010; Justiz & Kameen,1988), suburban (Lee, 2013; Mabokela & Madsen, 2003), and rural (Castaneda, Kambutu, & Rios, 2006) districts. Though the percentage of minority students is increasing significantly, the racial and ethnic diversity among educators has not kept pace (Ahmad & Boser, 2014; Ingersoll & May, 2011; Justiz & Kameen,1988). The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (2016a) reported the distribution of U.S. public school students in the fall of 2015 as 49.2% White, 15.5% Black, 26.1% Hispanic, 5.3% Asian/Pacific Islander, 1.0% American Indian/Alaska Native, and 2.9% two or more races. The NCES (2016b) also reported the 2015 – 2016 distribution of public school teachers as 80% White non-Hispanic, 9% Hispanic, 7% non-Hispanic Black, and 2% non-Hispanic Asian).

This phenomenon has gripped the state of Massachusetts. The Massachusetts Department for Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE) reported that during the 2016-2017 school year, 38.7% of MA public school students were students of color, while teachers of color accounted for only 9.7% of the educator workforce (Massachusetts Department of

[1] This chapter was jointly written by the authors listed and reflects the team approach of this project: Charles J. Drane III, Diana Guzzi, Roderick V. MacNeal, Jr., Leslie M. Patterson, Nancy Robbins Taylor, and Joan M. Woodward.

Elementary and Secondary Education, 2017a). This racial disproportionality is even more apparent when considering specific MA school districts. For example, in Brockton Public Schools, the disparity is 79.6% students of color to 8.2% teachers of color (DESE, 2017). Similarly, in Lowell Public Schools the disparity is 71.7% students of color to 10.4% teachers of color (DESE, 2017). These districts are just two examples among many in Massachusetts that are experiencing this significant diversity gap.

This imbalance is troubling and a matter of urgency for several reasons. First, educators of color have the potential to be social justice change agents (Villegas & Davis, 2007). Second, educators of color can serve as exemplary role models for all students, and perhaps even more so for students of color (Branch, 2001; Graham, 1987). Third, educators of color have the power to successfully enact culturally responsive practices (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). Finally, perhaps the most compelling reason is that educators of color can positively impact student achievement (Dee, 2004; Irvine, 1989).

Practitioners and policymakers have attempted to address the racial disproportionality in schools through the development and implementation of effective hiring and retention strategies. These strategies include alternative certification pathways such as Teach for America and the New Teacher Project-Fellowship, and formalized supports such as mentoring and induction programs (Bireda & Chait, 2011). Specifically in Massachusetts, to increase hiring rates of a diverse staff, educational leaders have relied on various forms of networking, relationships with colleges of education, and job fairs (Pohle, 2016). Additionally, educational leaders are promoting the teaching profession to high school students with the hope that these same students will eventually want to return to teach in their home district (Rocheleau, 2017). Furthermore, to help retain teachers of color, school districts utilize support programs

such as one created by Travis Bristol, an education professor at Boston University. This program, active in Boston Public Schools, "allows minority teachers to network with one another and discuss the challenges of navigating a white-dominated system" ("Mass. should diversify," 2017, p. 4). In spite of these numerous established strategies, the minority student-teacher imbalance remains, and in fact, continues to grow (Boser, 2014).

Despite the imperative to hire and retain more educators of color, and a growing body of literature related to this topic, there is a gap in research. Best practices with regard to the recruitment, hiring, evaluation, and retention for this particular group of educators have yet to be established. Additionally, there is a significant gap in the existing research related to how educators of color view their pre-service preparation programs, perceive the impact of their racial/ethnic identity on their work, and experience issues related to student discipline. Furthermore, the fact that first-hand perspectives of educators of color are not consistently included in the conversation contributes to this research gap.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. The educator pipeline refers to preparation, recruitment, professional experiences related to students and colleagues, and retention of educators. (The definition of "educator pipeline" is discussed later in this chapter.) A primary goal of this study was to hear directly from those most impacted. Accordingly, this study was guided by the following research question: How do educators of color experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools? Specifically, we considered the experience of educators of color and their perceptions related to pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, student discipline, their racial/ethnic identity as it impacts students, evaluation, and job satisfaction. The primary research questions

for these individual studies are noted in Table 1. An abstract for each individual study can be found in Appendices A through E.

Table 1

Researchers' Focus Areas

Last Name	Category	Focus Area
Drane	Pipeline	How do educators of color perceive their pre-service preparation?
Patterson	Pipeline	How do educators of color experience the recruitment and hiring process? Which practices and policies do school and district level leaders implement in the recruitment/ hiring process for educators of color?
Woodward	Schools	How do educators of color perceive the impact of their racial/ethnic identity on their work with students?
Taylor	Schools	How do educators of color perceive the role of race on the discipline system in their district?
MacNeal	Pipeline/Schools	How do educators of color perceive the evaluation process and its impact on their professional growth and development?
Guzzi	Pipeline/Schools	What are factors that influence job satisfaction for teachers and administrators of color? How do teachers and administrators of color perceive the factors of job satisfaction to influence their retention?

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework used for this study is critical race theory (CRT). The basic principle of CRT espouses that racism has become a normalized practice within our society (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The use of CRT provides a lens for identifying the inequities that have plagued the experiences of people of color in this country (Ladson-Billings, 1998). In

education, the use of CRT considers the perspectives of people of color to provide a counter story to the majoritarian viewpoint connected to positions of privilege and power acquired based upon race (Capper, 2015; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004).

Critical race theory evolved from critical legal studies (CLS) which scholars have used as a lens to advocate that legal policy and doctrine has contributed to an ideology that "create, support, and legitimate America's present class structure" (Crenshaw, 1988, p. 1350). Absent within CLS, was an emphasis on race, thus CRT was created in order to provide another lens for analysis (Capper, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Since its inception, CRT has been used to underscore the notion that racism has become normalized within American society and the law. This has become particularly true for citizens of color and individuals who possess a lower economic status (Capper, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) first used CRT to examine the inequities that exist within the educational system. Subsequent research has used the tenets contained within CRT to provide insight as to how structures within the educational system support White privilege over the needs of people of color. The tenets used for this study include permanence of racism, counter storytelling, critique of liberalism, and Whiteness as property (Capper, 2015).

The Permanence of Racism

The permanence of racism professes that racism is a constant fixture in society which "appears both normal and natural to people in this culture" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 11). López (2003) states that racism is an endemic part of society that is not just defined by overt acts of oppression or violence. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) highlight how racism dictates the various structures of influence within our society, notwithstanding the field of education. Within the context of educational leadership, CRT has been useful with highlighting

how the permanence of racism has influenced the development, hiring, and retention of educators of color (Capper, 2015).

In their study, which took place in a Southeastern state, McCray, Wright, and Beachum (2007) examined the placement of African-American secondary principals by surveying all public secondary school principals. Findings from the study reveal that White principals received a greater opportunity to serve in majority Black and White school settings than their African-American counterparts. (Note: throughout our paper, the terms African-American and Black will be used interchangeably, often determined by the author being cited.) The use of race as a pre-determinant factor to fulfill principal vacancies is an example how the permanence of racism impacts placement options.

In another study by Knaus (2014), preliminary interviews were conducted to identify three case studies. The case studies included semi-structured interviews of three principals who identified two teachers in each of their buildings who exhibited the most promise for school leadership positions. The pairings included one African-American teacher and one White teacher. The principals were asked how they provided leadership opportunities for each of the identified teachers. Each teacher was interviewed about professional development and leadership positions offered to them. Findings from the study highlighted how principals categorized African-American and White teachers based upon race rather than evidence from direct observations. White teachers were perceived to be more effective at teaching the standards. In comparison, the African-American teachers in the study were relegated to being culturally responsive teaching experts and heralded for their excellent classroom management skills. In comparison, the White teachers received more responsibilities and increased opportunities to serve in leadership roles. Based upon the findings, the cultural background of

the African-American teachers influenced how their White principals viewed them and precluded them from receiving opportunities for leadership positions.

Counter Storytelling

The use of counter storytelling (also referred to as "counter stories" or "counter narratives") provides an alternate perspective to the majoritarian viewpoint which is used by Whites to explain racial inequities that are "embedded with racialized omissions, distortions, and stereotypes" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p.18). In the context of education, counter stories of principals and other leaders of color are extremely important when seeking to provide equity (Capper, 2015).

In the study by Knaus (2014), African-American teachers who were identified by their White principal as "most promising" (p. 424) were interviewed. The findings use the input of African-American teachers to provide insight as to how they were treated differently than their White counterparts. The African-American teachers provided a counter story that conflicted with the perspectives of their supervisors.

In a study by Lynn (2002), African-American male teachers who work in South Central Los Angeles were interviewed regarding whether their racial identity informed their pedagogy, and how their racial and gender status impacted the relationships with their students. The schools in which the participants worked were majority Hispanic and African-American with 84% of the student population receiving free and reduced lunch. The participants in the study consistently exhibited a passion for working to improve the conditions of their students through teaching. The personal stories provided by interview data challenged prior research that gave a less than appealing description of educators of color.

Critique of Liberalism

Proponents of CRT advocate that liberal movements are often characterized by colorblind and neutral ideologies that fail to address the historical impact race has had in society (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Color blindness, or the state of not viewing race as a relative difference, is identified as a significant contributing factor in the perpetuation of institutional racism. Researchers have discovered that when organizations, including educational systems, demonstrate colorblindness and it becomes formal or informal policy, the effects seem to be predominantly adverse for minorities (e.g., Lewis, 2001; Schofield & Anderson, 1986; Tarca, 2005). López (2003) posits that it is a fallacy to believe that a race neutral political agenda will effectively resolve racism. Substantial change can only come from a deep examination of how the impact of race has been interwoven into society, which includes the field of education. Educators who fail to recognize race and one's ethnic background "are unconscious about the ways schools are not racially neutral but reflect White culture" (Capper, 2015, p. 817).

A study by Evans (2007) examined how educators in three suburban high schools responded to the racial and demographic change that took place between 1990-2000. The participants who were interviewed included school staff, principals, and superintendents. Findings from the study reveal how teachers resisted an effort by district administration to initiate multicultural professional development. Faculty resisted under the belief that children are all the same. However, the teachers and administrators expressed a deficit perspective regarding the incoming African-American students. It was widely believed by the teachers that their new students were coming from school environments which held low academic

expectations. The examples highlighted by this study exemplify how colorblind perspectives perpetuate discriminatory practices that disregard the needs of students of color.

Whiteness as Property

The concept of Whiteness as property can be linked to a legal system that is based upon protecting its membership and excluding all others (Harris, 1993). Thus, this tenet espouses that the rights and privileges that are connected to being White are exclusive and can only be shared by those from this majoritarian class. Within the context of education, Whiteness as property has been utilized to explain how curriculum and the right to upper-level Advanced Placement courses have been implemented to perpetuate privilege and exclude those from marginalized backgrounds (Pollack & Zirkel, 2013). Ladson-Billings (1998) explains how remnants of African-American culture are often omitted from school curriculum. As a result, a false representation of true events distills the significance of African-American figures who have made major contributions to our society and the world.

Decuir and Dixson (2004) highlight a school that created a culture that prohibited students from wearing clothing that represented African culture. School policies aligned with White culture dictated that students must suppress or find inventive ways to express their individual ethnic or racial culture through dress. An example includes a student who wanted to wear an African headwrap during graduation, but could not because all graduates were required to wear white. To conform to the policy, the student wore a white head wrap that featured African symbols in white.

We used CRT to examine how race impacts the experience of educators of color within the Cityside Public School District. Each tenet provided a specific lens to analyze data and assist with developing an understanding of the overall research question, how educators of color

experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. The use of permanence of racism assisted with identifying examples of implicit bias and overt acts of racism for participants of this study. The use of counter storytelling provided a voice to participants as they shared their experiences while working in the district. The use of critique of liberalism provided a perspective as to how the use of race is considered when examining various policies and practices that help to shape the working environment in Cityside. Finally, the use of Whiteness as property helped examine how participants perceive their opportunities to build relationships, make connections, grow and achieve positions of leadership within the school district. Overall, the use of CRT provided us with a framework for assessing the conditions which educators of color need to navigate in order to thrive within the Cityside Public School District.

Literature Review

The value of a diverse educator workforce has been a research topic explored by many. Currently, scholars are making more efforts to highlight the voices of educators of color in their studies. This literature review was grounded in a discussion of the importance of educators of color and followed by a discussion of topics related to the experiences of educators of color within the pipeline and schools. These topics include: pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, student discipline, racial/ethnic identity as it impacts students, evaluation, and job satisfaction.

The Importance of Educators of Color

As stated in this chapter's introduction, educators of color can positively impact the school experiences for all students. They can do this through their capacity as social justice change agents, role models, and proponents of culturally responsive practices. Additionally, the

presence and approaches of educators of color can lead to increased levels of student achievement.

Social justice change agents. Villegas and Davis (2007) claim that teacher candidates of color, if provided with the necessary preparation, will be able to successfully translate "their commitment to making schools more equitable and just for students of color" (p. 146) into positive outcomes. Supporting this, scholars have found that some educators of color devote significant energy to explicitly addressing racism with their students (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). Specifically, these educators tackle issues pertaining to societal and institutional power, resulting in students of color more successfully navigating their world. Beauboeuf-Lafontant (1999) posits that numerous African-American teachers have "recognized the existence of oppression in their students' lives and sought to use their personal, professional, and social power to encourage children to understand and undermine their subordination" (p. 702).

Several scholars have supported these claims through their related research. After interviewing thirty-six Black male teachers employed by the Los Angeles Unified School District, Lynn (2002) found that most of these study participants felt called "to change the lives of African American youth" (p. 125), and that teaching was a way to make this happen. They focused specifically on their work with students living in working-class and poor communities, expressing clearly that their goal was to empower these students and help them to overcome social, political, and economic barriers. Similarly, Ladson-Billings and Henry (1990) studied successful teachers of Black students in the United States and Canada. Of the thirteen teacher participants, ten of them were either African-American or Afro-Caribbean. Ladson-Billings and Henry (1990) found that these teachers engaged their students in conversations about the realities of life, addressing controversial topics that others might have determined only appropriate for

adult discussions. These teachers made sure that students contemplated the "responsibilities they have to make life better for everyone" (Ladson-Billings & Henry, 1990, p. 79).

Role models. Graham (1987) posits that academically successful Black teachers serve as needed role models for Black students as well as non-Black students; for all of these children need to recognize that Black people are essential members of society. Similarly, Irvine (1988) stated that "white students need black teachers as role models so that they can gain accurate perceptions of our multiethnic society" (p. 506). Branch (2001) emphatically addresses this issue:

> Not enough has been said, however, about the role models that teachers of color can be for European-Americans in schools. Though teachers are not paid nearly what they are worth, they are still held in high esteem by much of the populace. … Now, children of all races are developing these positive notions about an overwhelming number of European-American teachers and very few teachers of color . . . erroneous assumptions about the intelligence of African-Americans, Latinos, and other people of color may be reinforced merely by their absence as teachers in the nation's classrooms. (p. 258)

Also, Irvine (1988) recognizes the role that Black teachers play in negating hurtful stereotypes about their race. On a related note, Stewart, Meier, and England (1989) speak to the importance of Black teachers specifically for Black students, as they state that the mere presence of Black teachers positively impacts Black students because of the influential power of same-race role models.

It is important to highlight that while role modeling is often recognized by scholars as an important attribute of educators of color in schools, this position has not been well researched (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). In fact, Irvine (1989) and Villegas and Irvine (2010) critique the high

status that has been given to the "black teachers as role models" argument, with Villegas and Irvine (2010) noting that during the course of their research, they did not encounter any related empirical studies.

Proponents of culturally responsive practices. Branch (2001) addresses culturally responsive practices as he recognizes that teachers of color can play a critical role in ensuring the existence of culturally relevant curriculum. Irvine (1989) offers that Black teachers are most qualified to be "cultural translators" (p. 55) as they help marginalized Black students navigate a school culture that is not aligned with their home culture. Similarly, Villegas and Irvine (2010) discuss the idea that because teachers of color can genuinely connect with the cultural experiences of students of color, this particular type of student-teacher matching is critical. This claim is supported by the work of Ladson-Billings and Henry (1990). During their study of successful teachers of Black students, they found that these teachers connected the curriculum directly to students' lived experiences and also employed pedagogical strategies that were based on students' cultural roots (e.g. incorporating proverbs, call-and-response interactions, and hymns).

Student achievement. Irvine (1989) claims that Black teachers' distinct approach to teaching is likely responsible for Black students' academic success. Supporting this claim, Dee (2004) found that after one year of elementary school, students learning from Black teachers saw their math and reading scores rise. The study of Egalite, Kisida, and Winters (2015) resulted in similar findings. After analyzing a large dataset provided by the Florida Department of Education that linked approximately three million students to 92,000 teachers from the fall of 2002 to the spring of 2009, they concluded that when students are paired with a teacher of their same race/ethnicity, reading achievement was positively impacted for Black and White students

and math achievement was positively impacted for Black, White, and Asian/Pacific Island students. Another study, with a less direct though still important connection to student achievement, was conducted by Fox (2016). Fox, analyzing survey data from the 2002 Educational Longitudinal Study, found that Black teachers in comparison to their White counterparts held higher expectations for their Black students. These Black teachers were more likely to believe that their Black students would continue their formal education past high school. Fox (2016) speaks to the significance of this finding:

> Once a teacher forms academic expectations for students, he or she may teach in a way that is consistent with those expectations; thus, if differential expectations result in differential treatment, there is the potential for such treatment to result in differential student learning and achievement. (p. 3)

Taken together, these studies provide evidence that educators of color can significantly influence the academic trajectory of their students.

While this research supporting the importance of educators of color (especially when focused on racially congruent teacher-student pairings) may lead some to draw the conclusion that racially segregated schools are beneficial, Boser (2014) highlights that it "is important for all students to interact with people who look and act differently than they do in order to build social trust and create a wider sense of community" (p. 3). Additionally, in a recent student perception study utilizing 50,000 sixth through ninth grade student reports on 1680 classroom teachers, Cherng and Halpin (2016) concluded that students (independent of race) feel more favorable towards Latino and Black teachers than towards White teachers. This finding further supports the notion that "minority teachers can translate their experiences and identities to form rapports with students that do not share the same race or ethnicity" (Cherng & Halpin, 2016, p. 10). In

sum, this research adds significant credence to the claim that educators of color can positively impact all students.

Educator Pipeline

The term teacher pipeline or educator pipeline is routinely found in literature on the education workforce. Villegas and Lucas (2004) offer this term as a metaphor that traces the path of people in the teaching profession back to elementary school. They present the pipeline as elementary students who become secondary students, who become college students enrolled in teacher education programs, and who then become educators.

Often, when the educator pipeline is described, authors characterize it as "broken" (Ladson-Billings, 2005, p. 230), a "revolving door" (Ingersoll, 2002, p. 23; Lau, Dandy, & Hoffman, 2007, p. 27), or "leaky" (Butty & Brown, 1999, p. 282). Lau, Dandy, and Hoffman (2007) go so far as to describe the education workforce as a "sieve" (p. 27). Throughout the educational research literature, scholars have examined many of the points where the flow of the pipeline is interrupted (Achinstein et al., 2010; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Evans & Leonard, 2013; Haddix, 2017; Kohli, 2009; Villegas & Lucas, 2004). Ultimately, these studies converge on the same conclusion that no matter the source of the leaks or the point in time when they surface, the leaky pipeline is having a negative impact on the availability of educators of color in schools today.

In response to the detrimental consequences of a failing pipeline, Villegas and Lucas (2004) assert that:

> nothing less than a comprehensive and coordinated initiative to expand the number of students of color in the pipeline and to stop the leak of human potential at the identified

> critical junctures will alter the demographic makeup of the teacher workforce in any significant way. (p. 83)

It is important to note that Villegas and Lucas contend that two things must happen. First, the number of people of color in the pipeline must grow. Second, the departure of educators of color from the profession must be stemmed. The first point speaks to educator preparation and recruitment, and the second to retention.

For the purposes of this study and drawing from the work of Villegas and Lucas (2004) and others, we will take the previous definition of an educator pipeline, which stops when the educator is hired, and extend it to include the retention of educators. The work of Ingersoll and May (2011) support the need to be attentive to not only the inflow of educators into the pipeline, but also to the "exit end of the pipeline" (p. 4). Additionally, while definitions of the educator pipeline extend as far back as elementary school, we will begin our examination of the pipeline with university schools of education. In short, we will consider the educator pipeline to consist of the preparation, recruitment, and professional experiences related to students and colleagues, as well as retention of educators.

Educator preparation. Eighty-five percent of teachers come from traditional education programs (Barth, Dillon, Hull, & Higgins, 2016). For that reason, it is essential to examine the experiences of pre-service educators of color in university schools of education. While many factors have been uncovered as reasons for the smaller-than-optimal pool of educators of color, four emerge most often: the current demographics of colleges and universities, the make-up of schools of education, barrier exams, and the curriculum in schools of education (Branch, 2001; Brown, 2005).

Both in American universities in general and their schools of education specifically, people of color are disproportionately represented. Considering that enrolling in a university is contingent upon previous educational attainment, Achinstein et al. (2010) and Aud, Fox, and KewalRamani (2010) describe how disadvantageous earlier schooling opportunities have led to the presence of a disproportionately low number of people of color in American universities. Narrowing down to schools of education, Cochran-Smith (2004) and Evans and Leonard (2013) describe school of education demographics as overwhelmingly consisting of White females. Consequently, it is in relation to both previous educational disadvantages and the existence of large numbers of White females in schools of education that the current demographics do not work in favor of a diversified workforce of educators. Also, negatively impacting the pool of educators of color is the increasing opportunity for people of color to be employed in fields other than education. While this is a positive result of the Civil Rights Movement and desegregation (Madkins, 2011), the field of education is feeling the impact nonetheless (Wilder, 2000).

As with demographics, both in admission to universities in general and schools of education specifically, entrance requirements such as SATs/ACTs or the Praxis I exam work counter to creating a more diverse field. Nettles, Scatton, Steinberg, and Tyler (2011) examined results of the Praxis I exam, a requirement for entrance into many education programs, and found that approximately 80% of White students pass on the first try while 40% of African-American students pass on the first try. This statistic is even more disheartening when recognizing that success on a barrier exam like the Praxis I is not even a predictor for success in the field of education (Darling-Hammond, 2000). So, both barrier exams required in order to be accepted

into universities and other exams required to enroll in education programs are serving to limit the number of students of color available in the workforce.

Another factor affecting the availability of educators of color in Massachusetts is the need to pass the Massachusetts Test for Educator Licensure (MTEL). An April 2008 memo from the Acting Commissioner of the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2008) informed the DESE Board that 77% of White test takers pass the MTEL while 46% of African-American test takers and 48% of Hispanic test takers pass the exam (http://www.doe.mass.edu/boe/docs/FY2008/0408.pdf). The memo goes on to report that these pass rates mirror what is found on the Praxis II exam. Data available on the DESE website (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2016) for 2015-2016 is encouraging in that pass rates for all three racial groups have gone up, but a gap of 13 to 20 percentage points remains (http://www.doe.mass.edu/mtel/2016ResultsByCategory.html).

Brown (2014), Cochran-Smith (2004), and Montecinos (2016) contend that another factor limiting the pool of people of color in the field of education is the curriculum in university schools of education. Cochran-Smith (2004) argues that a way to fix this issue is "by incorporating their [people of color] perspectives into the curriculum and finding ways to decrease the alienation they often experience" (p. 390). Achinstein et al. (2010) conclude that programs of education that concentrated on recruiting and supporting pre-service educators of color showed higher educator retention than the teaching force as a whole.

Just as literature has focused on the factors leading to the disparity in people of color in university schools of education, research has also suggested answers to this disproportionality. While a number of possibilities have been posited, two such suggestions stand out in the

frequency with which they appear. First, Schmitz, Nourse, and Ross (2012) suggest that more communication between schools of education and departments of education could help to produce college graduates in fields better aligned with disciplines most in need of educators. A second suggestion is to provide pre-service teachers with better clinical experiences so that they are more likely to remain on track to become an educator (Achinstein et al., 2010).

Recruitment. While teacher preparation is a vital phase of the educator pipeline, it is teacher recruitment that Barth et al. (2016) describe as "the leakiest section" (p. 11). Three reasons were offered for why this portion of the pipeline is so leaky. First, graduates of schools of education do not necessarily enter the field of education. Next, the need to pay off loans adversely impacts the ability to enter the field of education. And, a clinical experience too late in the training process can lead to a late change out of the field of education.

Because states generally do not keep data on the jobs that graduates from schools of education pursue, it has been left to the research community to attempt to quantify this data. Studies differ in their conclusions of how many graduates from university schools of education do not remain in education, but even the varying findings speak to a problem in the system. Barth et al. (2016) conclude that between 25-50% of education school graduates do not go on to teach. This high number of teacher education graduates who do not follow through and teach only exacerbates the already small number of candidates in schools of education.

While some graduates of schools of education may want to enter the field of education, Barth et al. (2016) found that the need to pay off school loans coupled with the perception that education is not a lucrative profession has led some people to choose a different field. Ladson-Billings (2005) and Shipp (1999) report that the decline of people of color in the field of

education coincides with increases in fields with higher paying jobs, like law and medicine. As will be discussed later, loan forgiveness programs can be a way to counter this trend.

As noted with regard to the teacher preparation aspect of the pipeline, clinical (practicum) experiences can cause some educators of color to fail to graduate from schools of education. Torres, Santos, Peck, and Cortes (2004) examine the timing of these experiences. They conclude that clinical experiences that are scheduled toward the end of the degree program force some students to go far down the path toward being an educator before a field experience gives them pause to reconsider. Those same students choose to graduate with a degree in education, but do not pursue a job in that field.

Recent literature proposes three successful strategies for improving recruitment of educators of color. School residencies, such as the Boston Teacher Residency Program, have been shown to increase the number of educators of color available to be placed in teaching positions (Solomon, 2009). Second, given the high cost of university education, Villegas and Davis (2007) assert that an important recruitment effort has been programs that reduce or remove college loans for people who teach for a set amount of time after college. Finally, a good amount has been written about programs that seek to interest high school and even elementary school students in the field of education, known as "grow your own" programs.

Impact on students. As stated previously, there is significant research on the impact that educators of color have on their students. When considering this impact, two themes emerge in the literature. The first relates to how educators of color may serve as role models to students and the second addressed how the racial and ethnic backgrounds of educators of color positively impact curriculum and learning.

The work of Atkins, Fertig, and Wilkins (2014) and Beady and Hansell (1981) explain the motivating influence that educators of color have on students of color. When students of color see all races represented in the faculty of their school, they are exposed to greater expectations for their own futures. Additionally, these authors note that the presence of educators of color positively affects the perceptions of students of color by making them feel a part of the school. This sense of student belonging results in greater student engagement and connectedness, which are important factors in a student's ability to be successful.

Castaneda et al. (2006) conducted a study that explored the perceptions of educators of color working in diasporic rural settings in Wyoming and the inevitable challenges these educators face. Although challenges are noted, the participants' influence as role models, to bring cultural authenticity, inspiration, and multiplicity of perspective to all students in ways that White teachers could not, serves as an example of the importance of employing educators of color.

When educators of color bring cultural authenticity, inspiration, and a multicultural perspective to the schoolhouse, racial inequities are reduced. Supporting this research, Goodwin (2004) conducted a study with seven post-secondary educators of color to explore what educators of color feel they bring to their work and the teaching profession. From this research, it was found that "teacher educators of color possess an empathic understanding of the lives of children of color, which results in a strong desire to engage in social action and redress inequities" (p. 22).

To address the inequities in educating students, Gist (2014) conducted a study that investigated the pedagogy of three socio-politically conscious teacher educators in teacher preparation programs to understand how to tailor teacher preparation for educators of color as a

means to equip these teachers with the skills necessary to provide culturally responsive pedagogy to the students they will eventually teach. From this study, Gist purports that teachers of color are situated to make meaningful contributions to the teaching profession at a time when "the educational community is attempting to more precisely define aspects of effective instruction for students of color" (p. 280).

Discipline. The fact that Black students are suspended or excluded from schools at a remarkably higher rate than their White peers was first studied and published in 1975 by the Children's Defense Fund (1975). In the four decades that followed, this finding of racial disproportionality in school discipline has remained consistent (Costenbader & Markson, 1998; Glackman et al., 1978; Gregory, 1997; Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). However, understanding the perceptions that educators of color and White educators may have regarding how race may or may not influence the school discipline system has not been studied extensively. While pre-service programs and the hiring process ultimately impact students, discipline has a direct and immediate impact. The research speaks to three components of the impact of discipline: the role of the educator, the subjectivity of the educator, and interplay between the educator and student.

The role that the educator plays in discipline speaks to the influence of educators as role models enhancing student attendance and achievement. Simply put, the presence of African-American educators increases the connection of students of color to schools (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). This connection can improve student attendance rates, and better attendance is logically linked to increased academic achievement. Therefore, educators of color play a crucial role at the start of this continuum. The work of Lindsay and Hart (2017) promotes educator diversity as a means of increasing academic achievement of Black students. In this study, Lindsay and Hart

found evidence that supports a decrease in discipline and an increase in the reading scores of Black students when these students are taught by same-race teachers.

Given that discipline is meted out by human beings, it is important to consider the possible impact of subjectivity on patterns of discipline. One way to understand educators' subjectivity is to explore their individual perceptions of expected student behavior and if those expectations are applied differently to Black students. Two themes emerge when looking at the subjectivity of discipline: subjectivity of the interpretation of behavior and subjectivity in the assigned consequences. Skiba et al. (2002) assert that the consequences for disciplinary infractions by African-American students are subjective because an educator's own beliefs and assumptions about Black students may influence how behavior is managed based on preconceived ideas. Skiba et al. (2002) conclude that significant discrepancies in school discipline between White and Black students indicates a systemic bias.

Interactions between students and educators are inherently complex. When educators and students come from different racial and cultural backgrounds, this complexity is enhanced and may influence the relevancy of the discipline (Gregory & Mosely, 2004). These authors refer to Culturally Relevant Discipline (CRD) as a frame through which to more critically examine student discipline. CRD posits that for an individual student's discipline to be relevant, an educator must consider cultural and racial factors as well as previous discipline experiences in each disciplinary incident (Gregory & Mosely, 2004).

Retention of educators of color: Evaluation and satisfaction. Research regarding the retention of educators has been narrow because of limited data, especially at the national level (Ingersoll, 2002). In order to gain a better understanding of topics related to the experiences of teachers and principals, the NCES conducted educational surveys beginning in 1987. These

surveys focused on general school conditions, including student demographics as well as hiring and retention practices (http://www.nces.org). Using the data from the NCES educational surveys, Ingersoll (2002) found that teacher retention was influenced by varying factors including retirement, school staffing decisions, personal reasons, interest in pursuing another job, and/or job dissatisfaction. The data also showed that 39% of entering teachers leave the profession within the first five years of teaching (Ingersoll, 2002). This lack of retention of teachers in the first five years was related to the aforementioned factors, with the exception of retirement.

Principal retention was more likely to be influenced by factors like school level and setting as well as student demographics and achievement, while personal characteristics such as age, race, and gender had a smaller influence on principal retention rates (Fuller & Young, 2009). After the 2011-2012 school year, 78% of principals remained at the same school while 6% of principals moved to another school, and 12% of principals left the role of principal (Goldring & Taie, 2014). DiPaolo and Tschannen-Moran (2003) found that within five years 26% of principals would retire, 11% of principals would seek central office positions, and 2% of principals planned to leave the profession. When asked about filling the anticipated vacancies, principals expressed that they believed a principalship was not a desirable position. The primary reasons given were job-related stress and hours required of the position (DiPaolo & Tschannen-Moran, 2003). National survey data like this, as well as single case studies and other independent studies, have been used to better understand the retention of educators of color.

Retention of teachers of color. The preparation and recruitment process does not solely limit the number of teachers of color in the educator pipeline. The disproportionality between teachers of color entering the profession and those leaving the profession also has an

influence. In the beginning of the 2003-2004 school year, 47,600 teachers of color entered teaching, however, by the end of the year, 56,000 teachers of color left teaching (Ingersoll & May, 2011). Since 1988, the turnover rate of teachers of color has gradually increased. From 1988-1989 to 2008-2009, the annual turnover rate of teachers of color has grown from 15.1% to 19.3%. Attrition of teachers of color is influenced by one or more of the following factors: 32.9% of teachers of color identified leaving teaching because of retirement; 45.3% of teachers of color identified leaving teaching for personal reasons; 35.4% of teachers of color identified leaving to pursue another job; and 35.3% of teachers of color identified leaving because of job dissatisfaction (Ingersoll & May, 2011). Only one-third of the teachers of color are leaving the profession because of retirement, while two-thirds of teachers of color are leaving their jobs because of personal reasons, to pursue another job, and/or job dissatisfaction.

Job satisfaction of teachers of color. Ingersoll and May (2011) found that organizational conditions, like faculty decision-making influence and teacher autonomy, have a more significant impact on job satisfaction for teachers of color than for White teachers. While administrative leadership and support, as well as salary and resources have an influence on retention rates, there is a similar significance for all teachers. Factors like student demographics, including higher rates of low socioeconomic status or population of minority students, did not influence the turnover of teachers of color (Ingersoll & May, 2011). These findings validate an earlier study completed by Ingersoll (2006) which reported that organizational conditions such as administration, accountability testing, student discipline, influence and autonomy, workplace conditions, classroom intrusions, salary and benefits, teaching assignments, and class size influence public school teachers of color, independent of school and student population. In

summary, organizational conditions and administrative support contribute to the job satisfaction of teachers of color.

Evaluation of teachers of color. The evaluation of teachers has been impacted by legislation focused on accountability and student achievement. As a result, school districts have worked to add reforms to how teachers are observed and evaluated (Clifford & Ross, 2011; McCleary, 1979; McQuinn, 2012). A model evaluation has been defined as one that links instructional practices to student learning outcomes and ensures accountability (Phillips, Balan, & Manko, 2014). Other effective characteristics include a focus on reflective conversations with teachers, standards-based criteria, procedures for collecting multiple sets of data, detailed scoring rubrics, and methods for assessing specific teacher behaviors (Danielson, 2010; Odden, 2004; Toch, 2008). Despite efforts to create reforms, the teacher evaluation system still has challenges linked to subjectivity and a lack of training of the building principal who in most cases is responsible for evaluating teachers (Cosner, Kimball, Barkowski, Carl, & Jones, 2014; Danielson, 2010). Consequently, the subjectivity and lack of training of principals can lead to inequities that impact the ability of teachers of color to grow and receive opportunities for leadership positions (Knaus, 2014).

Retention of administrators of color. According to the NCES, 20% of public school principals were educators of color in 2011-2012 (Hill, Ottem, & DeRoche, 2016). This represents a slight increase since the 2003-2004 school year when 18% of public school principals were educators of color. While the percentage of Black principals has not dramatically changed, the percentage of Hispanic principals has slightly increased from 3% in 1987-1988 to 7% in 2011-2012. However, the percentage of White principals has decreased from 87% to 80% during this same time period (Hill et al., 2016).

Job satisfaction of administrators of color. When studying school characteristics, White et al. (2011) identified how factors like student demographics, school climate, parent support, and school location influenced the job satisfaction of principals of color. Bitterman, Goldring, and Gray (2013) reported preliminary data gathered from public school and private school principals, with a 20% participation rate of principals of color, however, they did not control for race or ethnicity. Principals reported how their level of influence on school based experiences including setting student performance standards, establishing curriculum, determining professional development, evaluating teachers, hiring teachers, setting discipline policy and overseeing budget influenced their job satisfaction. With limited research published about the job satisfaction of principals and administrators of color, it is evident that there is a gap in research.

Evaluation of administrators of color. Over the years, the responsibilities of the building administrator have become more complex. Along with ensuring student growth and achievement, the modern-day building administrator is also responsible for managing resources and maintaining a myriad of relationships inside and outside the school community (Davis & Hensley, 1999). As a result, the administrator evaluation needs to be comprehensive, equitable, and provide for reflective feedback from both the evaluator and the evaluatee (Clifford & Ross, 2011). Despite reform efforts there remains a gap in research that offers a clear and consistent theoretical framework for conducting an effective evaluation (Reeves, 2005). As a result, there is a void in research literature that examines how current evaluation systems impact the growth and development of administrators of color (Glasman & Heck, 1990; Goldring et al., 2009).

While there have been studies that identify the factors related to retention of administrators (DiPaolo & Tschannen-Moran, 2003; Papa, 2007; Whitaker, 2001), fewer studies

have explored the factors that influence the retention of administrators of color. This is a gap in the research that needs to be addressed as the number of administrators of color gradually increases. Additional research will also help to identify the factors that influence the retention of administrators of color and refine practices and policies that will increase the number of administrators of color.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined the issue of the experiences of educators of color in recruitment, hiring, and retention, and identified the impact that the lack of diversity has on the educational environment. We presented research questions that we studied as a group hoping to fill the current research gap that is connected to this issue.

The statistical data we reviewed indicate that educators of color working in U.S. public schools are greatly underrepresented. This disparity becomes more significant as the population of students within public schools becomes more diverse. To understand the impact of this phenomenon, we have reviewed literature that considers the experience of educators of color and their perceptions related to pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, student discipline, how their race and ethnicity impact students, how they experience the evaluation process, as well as their job satisfaction and retention. Our efforts have unveiled a lack of literature that is able to provide successful strategies that offer viable and effective solutions. As a result, we constructed a study that collected data to answer the research question: How do educators of color experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools? The counter narratives provided by educators of color gave us a unique perspective based upon their experiences.

It is our hope that the data collected from our study will help to inform further research studies and provide guidance to schols and districts who are interested in creating a more diverse staff. Chapter 2 will describe the methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER 2[2]

METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

Methodology

All researchers for this study designed protocols and practices for collecting and analyzing data. The research team was divided into three pairs based on the relatedness of their individual research studies. Collected data contributed to the overall study's findings while individual team members analyzed data independently as it related to their individual study. This chapter will outline the study design, shared protocols and practices for data collection and analysis, as well as the study limitations.

Study Design

The purpose of this single-site case study was to explore and understand the experiences of educators of color in light of the persisting racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools in a Massachusetts district. The team employed a single-bounded case study of Cityside Public Schools (pseudonym) to explore how a sample of educators of color perceived their experiences of preservice education, recruitment and hiring experiences, the impact of their race on students and student discipline, educator evaluation processes, and job satisfaction. This case study relied on data consisting of a job satisfaction survey, Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) protocol, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis. The rationale for implementing this design was to utilize different data collection forms at the same time in order to both confirm and triangulate findings, as well as enrich our collective understanding of the research problem (Creswell, 2012; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). As the

[2] This chapter was jointly written by the authors listed and reflects the team approach of this project: Charles J. Drane III, Diana Guzzi, Roderick V. MacNeal, Jr., Leslie M. Patterson, Nancy Robbins Taylor, and Joan M. Woodward.

research was limited to one district, the study was delineated by the time allotted for data collection within the district, November through December of 2017, and the time allotted for subsequent analysis, December 2017 through March 2018.

Site Selection

According to the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (Massachusetts Department of Education, 2017a), in 2016-2017 9.7% of educators in Massachusetts were identified as non-White. For this study, research was conducted in Cityside Public Schools (CPS), an urban district in eastern Massachusetts. This district employs the second-largest percentage of educators of color (26%) in the Commonwealth. More specifically, the CPS Office of Human Resources reported 22% teachers of color teach a non-White student population of 60.1%. Site selection was also determined by the following criteria: a hiring and retention process that focuses on increasing educator diversity, the current employment of educators of color, and a diverse student population as identified by and reported to DESE which included the following race(s) and/or ethnic groups: American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Black or African-American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, as well as Hispanic or Latino. Additionally, the site selection was ultimately determined by Cityside's willingness to participate in the research.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collected for this case study was generated through recruitment emails (See Appendices F and G), a job satisfaction survey (See Appendix H), the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) protocol (See Appendix I), semi-structured face-to-face recorded individual interviews (See Appendices J through M), and document analysis. Documents that were reviewed included Cityside's Teacher Recruitment and Hiring: Administrator Survey, [Cityside]

Hiring Committee Selection Process document, [Cityside] Public Schools Staff Diversity Recruitment, Hiring and Retention Programs and Initiative document, DESE staff and student demographics and discipline report data, and Cityside's collective bargaining agreements for Unit A and Unit B.

Job satisfaction online survey. The job satisfaction online survey designed for this study was adapted from the Teacher Follow-Up Survey: Questionnaire for Former Teachers, 2012 – 2013 School Year (TFS) administered by NCES (2013). In order to assess job satisfaction, the following areas were presented to participants in a four point Likert scale survey online addressing areas which included student discipline, administrative support, decision-making participation, job stress, colleague-to-colleague relations, gender, family support systems, overall job satisfaction, as well as demographic and employment information. The online survey link was shared in the initial recruitment email to all CPS educators of color. This data was then synthesized and compared to some of the semi-structured interviews.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. Phinney (1992) developed the MEIM protocol used to determine how individuals identify with their ethnicity and their sense of belonging within their ethnic group. Study participants who were interviewed were asked to complete this protocol. The MEIM has been used in multiple studies and been shown to be a reliable identity tool (Roberts et al., 1999). While the MEIM is typically considered a quantitative methodology tool, the limited sample size in this case study was not large enough to complete a statistical analysis. Instead, this data was used to gain awareness of how participants identify themselves ethnically and was examined to inform the qualitative data gained from the participant interviews. The protocol was distributed to participants at the time of the interview.

Semi-structured interviews. The interviews, on the other hand, allowed us to explore participants' perceptions of lived experiences within these processes. We recruited a sample of educators of color, defined as district leaders, building leaders, teachers, and counselors. Additionally, we recruited a sample of building and district level administrators (of different races) who are responsible for the recruiting and/or hiring process at the district level or building level in Cityside. The process of recruiting participants involved an email prepared by the research team sent by Cityside administration and networking through snowball sampling.

Through purposeful design of the interview questions for this qualitative case study, interviews produced counter narratives about the experiences of educators of color in the educational workforce. Counter narratives or counter storytelling, provided an opposing perspective to the viewpoint used by the White majority that accounts for racial inequities (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Moreover, Milner and Howard (2013) identify that "a counter-narrative provides the space for researchers to reinterpret, disrupt or interrupt pervasive discourses that may paint communities and people, particularly communities and people of color, in grim, dismal ways" (p. 542). We sought to understand and assign meaning to the reported experiences and personal reflections of the selected interviewees (Creswell, 2012). The purpose of the interviews was to understand how educators of color experience teacher preparation programs, hiring, supervision and evaluation, job satisfaction, the student discipline system, and how their race/ethnic identity impacts their work with students. This research also sought to understand how study participants experience being one of a disproportionate number of educators of color and whether it would make a difference if there were more educators of color in the district.

As a team, we developed interview protocols to be utilized for both district and building-level administrators of color, as well as faculty of color. The semi-structured nature of our

protocols allowed for flexibility to respond to the interviewee with additional probing questions in the moment (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Prior to interviewing our subjects, the team piloted interview questions with colleagues of color from outside the target district. The benefit of piloting the questions ensured that questions were clearly and respectfully worded and elicited relevant responses. All interview participants received the following: a letter of intent explaining the purpose of the interview, a request for signed informed consent, and a confidentiality statement (See Appendix N and O). These documents were distributed to participants electronically. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed through Rev.com, and reviewed for accuracy by the research team.

Interview participants. As shown in Table 2, interview participants included district level administrators, building level administrators, teachers and counselors. Administrators were identified based on their role in the hiring and retention practice as well as being evaluators and providers of professional development opportunities. This included building-level educators responsible for discipline. All educators were interviewed by an individual researcher or a two-person team with the opportunity for follow-up communication.

Table 2

Interview Participants

	Number of Participants	Number of Educators of Color	Number of White Educators
Building Administrators	11	8	3
District Administrators	3	3	
Educators, e.g. counselors and teachers	14	14	
Total Number of Participants	28	25	3

A total of 28 educators volunteered and were selected to participate in this study. As shown in Figure 1, there were 14 African-American or Black educators, 3 Asian or Asian-American educators, 3 Black Latino educators, 3 Hispanic or Latino educators, 2 multi-race, non-Hispanic educators, and 3 White educators.

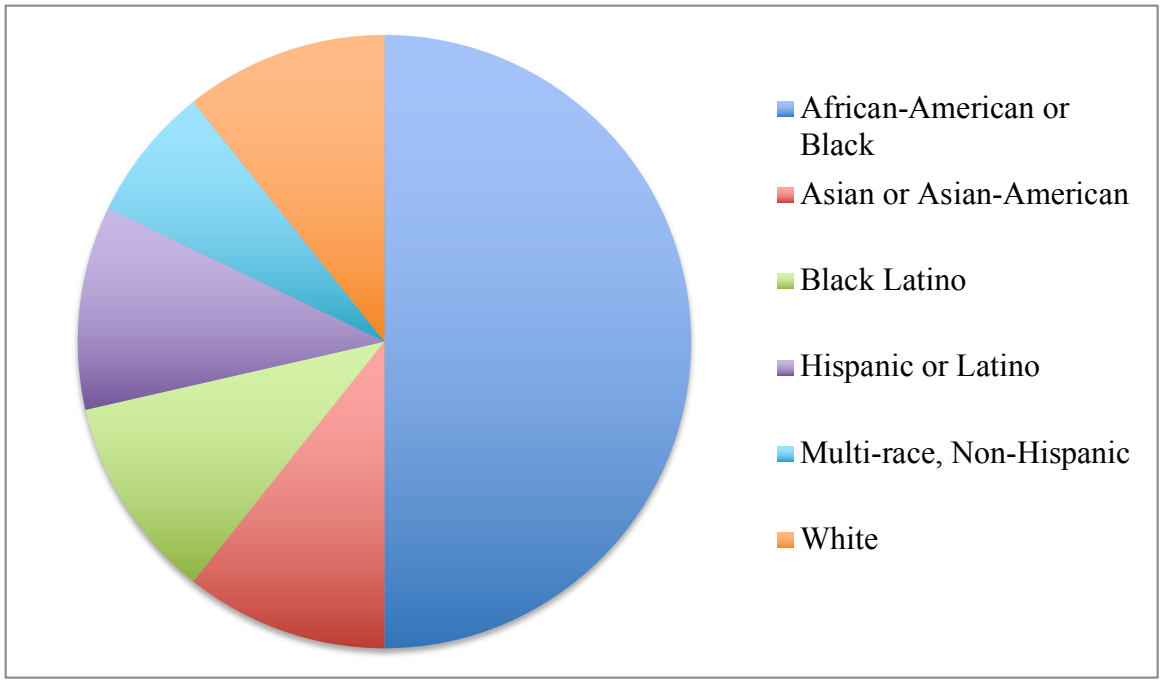

Figure 1. Race and/or ethnicity of interviewed participants. This chart represents the interviewed participants based on race and/ethnicity.

Interview research teams. Our team was divided into pairs based on the themes of our individual research studies and we then determined the feasibility of conducting all interviews in our selected pairs. In the end, most interviews were conducted in pairs. These pairs were devised to understand educators' of color perceptions of one of the following: 1) teacher preparation and pre-service programs coupled with the experiences of the recruitment and hiring process; 2) the influence of race/ethnicity on student discipline and its impact on students; 3) the

impact of the evaluation process on educator growth and factors that influence job satisfaction and teacher retention.

On the one hand, we questioned whether our work would be enhanced by interviewing in pairs. This model allowed for one person to be the designated lead interviewer who maintains the momentum of the interview, leaving the other to take notes, review responses in line with learned information from other analyses and interviews, and suggest additional, follow-up questions. On the other hand, we considered whether or not educators of color may be more forthcoming in a one-on-one interview. Each pair made the determination regarding the setup of the interview. Each educator of color was interviewed based on the responsibilities of their position and their relevance to the six individual studies.

The team worked to manage the interviewing partnership (Weiss, 1994) in a manner that created emotional safety and encouraged interviewees to speak about their perceptions and experiences, if any, of oppression and racism encountered in the educational system. The components of CRT provided the lens through which we framed the interview experience. The components of CRT, including the permanence of racism, counter storytelling, the critique of liberalism, and Whiteness as property, speak to the reality of racism and its acceptance as a normal part of the dominant culture (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Specifically, we hoped to provide the opportunity for interviewees to speak their counter narratives. Understanding counter narratives is critical to promoting equity in the educator workforce. Giving voice to counter narratives enhanced our understanding of the reality of educators of color. For example, we heard personal stories of how educators of color felt perceived by their colleagues that may be inconsistent with an accepted cultural norm (Milner & Howard, 2013). In addition, we used the data collected from the MEIM responses to gain awareness of how the interview participants

identified themselves racially or ethnically and how they viewed their sense of belonging within their ethnic group.

Interview analysis. To analyze the qualitative interview data, we broke the data down into categories that answered the research questions of individual studies. The data was further coded into subcategories by themes or segments as we recorded redundancy and overlap and examined presenting themes. The process of assigning codes to the slices of data was guided and informed by the tenets of CRT, including the permanence of racism, counter storytelling or narratives, the critique of liberalism, and Whiteness as property, which provided the conceptual framework for this study.

To assist in the analysis, four of the six researchers used the software program Dedoose to categorize and code the interview transcription data. The other two researchers utilized a more traditional manual approach to coding data. All data were reviewed for evidence of how educators of color perceived and experienced the racial disproportionality that exists in the education system.

Document review. The reviewed documents highlighted the processes (e.g., recruiting and hiring educators of color, evaluating these educators, or the influence of race on student discipline) experienced by selected participants. As the team analyzed district documentation, we remained aware of the strengths and weaknesses, as illustrated by Yin (2009), of such documentation. Yin (2009) defined four strengths of documentation: stability in that they are available to review repeatedly, unobtrusive in their creation, provision of exact information, and broad coverage of events over time. On the other hand, Yin (2009) defined four weaknesses of documentation: difficulty in locating, the potential for bias in selectivity, the presence of reporting bias, and limited access.

Positionality of the Researchers

Our six-person research team was comprised of four females (one Black and three White) and two males (one Black and one White). Positionality "reflects the position that the researcher has chosen to adopt within a given research study" (Savin-Balden & Howell Major, 2013, p. 71). The nature of qualitative research establishes the researcher as a data collection tool. It is reasonable to expect that the researcher brings his or her own beliefs, cultural background, and experiences with them to the interview. Each researcher reflected upon the possible influence their positionality had on the interview process (Bourke, 2014). In other words, the team acknowledged that our own cultural background, personal beliefs and individual experiences might have varied from those of the individual interviewees. We remained cognizant of any potential impact these differences may have had on both the interview process and the interpretation of data.

Limitations

This study had several limitations. The sample size was limited to one district, therefore did not account for the variations amongst schools within Massachusetts or the United States. The data was only derived from 29 interviews, the administration of the MEIM to 24 participants, and the completion of the job satisfaction survey by 40 participants. Additionally, the positionality of our research team may have potentially affected our data collection and analysis in any instances where we were not transparent or mindful of the influence that the race of the researcher may have had on the research process. Lastly, due to constraints inherent in our doctoral program, our research was limited by the allotted time dedicated for data collection and analysis.

Variations of the methodology described within this chapter were implemented in the six individual studies which will be presented in Chapter three. Each individual study includes the research questions, conceptual framework, literature review, methodology, and findings. It concludes with recommendations for Cityside Public Schools and future researchers.

CHAPTER 3[3]

INDIVIDUAL STUDY

Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color[a]: Recruiting and Hiring

Introduction: Problem, Purpose, and Research Questions

The percentage of minority students is increasing dramatically, significantly challenging the potential for educators' racial and ethnic diversity to reflect that of the student population (Ahmad & Boser, 2014; Ingersoll & May, 2011; Justiz & Kameen, 1988). The National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) (2016a) reported that in 2015, students of color accounted for approximately 50.8% percent of public school enrollment, while teachers of color accounted for only 20% of the public school teaching force (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2016b). The statistics are equally as bleak for Massachusetts. This racial disproportionality is disturbing and a problem in need of urgent attention, for educators of color have the potential to greatly improve the school experience, and thus the lives, of all students.

Although there is an existing and growing body of literature focused on this issue of racial disproportionality, there is a gap in research. There is substantial scholarship related to the recruitment and hiring of teachers of color at the macro level (Ahmad & Boser, 2014; Ingersoll & May, 2011; Rogers-Ard, Knaus, Epstein, & Mayfield, 2012), however minimal research exists regarding these issues at the micro level (Petersen, Saporta, & Seidel, 2000). That is, there is much more to be learned about the specific practices and policies that school districts follow as they search for new educators, and specifically educators of color. Also, there is insight to be gained from understanding how candidates of color experience these practices and policies, for the existing body of literature on this topic lacks their voices. The voices of educators of color

[3] This chapter was individually written by Leslie M. Patterson.

are critical to the analysis of the problem, for they "provide the necessary context for understanding, feeling, and interpreting" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 13).

While the purpose of our group case study was to explore how Massachusetts educators of color experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline[b] and schools, the purpose of this individual study was to explore how, in Massachusetts, educators of color experience a critical stage within the educator pipeline and schools: the recruitment and hiring process. Recruiting and hiring significantly impacts the educator pipeline; they form the crucial bridge that connects educators' pre-service year(s) to their professional tenure as practitioners in schools. It is vital to hear directly from educators of color to gain insights into how they experience this process. It is also worth understanding the current practices and policies utilized by district and building level leaders to recruit and hire educators of color. Accordingly, this study is guided by two research questions:

1) How do Cityside educators of color experience Cityside's recruitment and/or hiring processes?
2) What practices and policies might Cityside school and district level leaders utilize to increase the number of educators of color recruited and hired?

With successful strategies in place for the recruitment and hiring of educators of color, it is likely that workforce diversity will more closely mirror student diversity, thus diminishing racial disproportionality.

Conceptual Framework

I relied on two conceptual frameworks to guide my review of the literature and inform my individual study. The first, Critical Race Theory (CRT), also grounded our group research project. The CRT tenets most salient for this individual study are permanence of racism and

counter storytelling. I include the second conceptual framework, social network theories, to provide a lens through which to view candidate-employer connections. Taken together, these theories guide my analysis as I seek to understand how educators of color, within a context of racial disproportionality, experience the recruitment and hiring process. The tenets of Critical Race Theory were addressed in Chapter 1; the following section discusses the research on social networks as they influence the job search process.

Social Networks

While CRT provides a big picture lens through which to view racial disproportionality in the educator pipeline and schools, using social networks as a theoretical framework provides a narrower focus, specific to the process of matching candidates of color with employers. Supporting this, Fernandez and Fernandez-Mateo (2006) note that the "concept of social networks has taken a central theoretical role in the current literature on race and labor markets" (p. 42).

Granovetter (1973) was one of the first scholars to study social networks, defining interpersonal ties as "strong, weak, or absent" (p. 1361) and arguing that weak ties "are more likely to link members of different small groups than are strong ones, which tend to be concentrated within particular groups" (p. 1376). Years later, Granovetter (2005) elaborated upon the benefits of weak ties:

> More novel information flows to individuals through weak than through strong ties. Because our close friends tend to move in the same circles that we do, the information they receive overlaps considerably with what we already know. Acquaintances, by contrast, know people that we do not and, thus, receive more novel information . . . Moving in different circles from ours, they connect us to a wider world. They may

> therefore be better sources when we need to go beyond what our own group knows, as in finding a new job or obtaining a scarce service. (p. 34)

Supporting and furthering the work of Granovetter, numerous scholars have studied social networks, and as a result, there is a significant body of related literature (e.g. Marsden and Gorman, 2001). For the purposes of this chapter, I highlight only two of the many emergent themes related to social networks: social networks as social capital, and social networks as racially segregated information systems.

Supporting the concept of social networks as social capital, Coleman (1988) highlights that "an important form of social capital is the potential for information that inheres in social relations" (p. S104). While Lin (1999) states that "social capital refers primarily to resources accessed in social networks" (p. 471), Cannata (2011) notes that "social networks are powerful because of the access they provide to resources and information" (p. 492). Thus, during the job search process, social networks can act as social capital, providing job seekers with knowledge about potential employers and providing employers with knowledge about potential candidates.

Supporting the perspective that social networks serve to enforce racially segregated workplace environments, Elliott (2001) notes that "members of a particular ethnic group concentrate in particular jobs and when new employment opportunities become available at their workplace, they pass this information along to social contacts, often of the same race and ethnic background" (p. 401). As a result of this process, where insiders recommend contacts who are similar to themselves, they continue the cycle of "reproducing their own sociodemographic characteristics on the job" (p. 405). McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook (2001) recognize this phenomenon as well, stating that "race and ethnicity are clearly the biggest divide in social networks today in the United States . . ." (p. 420).

Literature Review

As the racial demographics of the United States continue to change, organizations are paying more attention to how they can successfully attract minority employees (Perkins, Thomas, & Taylor, 2000). Thus, there is now a significant body of research related to cultural diversity in the workplace. Specifically, numerous scholars have studied various aspects of the recruitment and hiring process for employees of color (e.g. Bendick & Nunes, 2012; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Thomas & Wise, 1999). While much of this literature is drawn from Social Psychology, Sociology, and Human Resource Management research, I believe that it can be extrapolated to the field of education. In fact, this extrapolation is a necessary first step to closing the research gap, for though "race . . . of applicants has [not] been examined empirically within the educational literature pertaining to recruitment . . . [it has] received some attention in the private sector" (Young, Place, Rinehart, Jury, & Baits, 1997, p. 92). Just as business managers do, school leaders need to think carefully about how to attract the best candidates to their institution. This review will highlight literature related to social networks and implicit racial bias, as both of these factors have the potential to significantly impact the recruitment and hiring process for educators of color.

Social Networks

According to Petersen, Saporta, and Seidel (2000), approximately 50% of United States job seekers rely on informal networks to find their jobs. Scholars' findings related to the benefits of reliance on these networks during the job search process have varied. For the purposes of this study, I highlight only two of many emergent themes related to social networks: social networks as social capital, and social networks as racially segregated information systems. The remainder of this section summarizes several empirical studies (four of which rely on the same data source:

The Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality) related to these two themes. Note that there is a lack of related literature specific to jobs in education, as well as a lack of related literature that explores the impact of social networks on job seekers of color in non-urban settings.

Analyzing data from a modified sample of males who were, or had been, in the United States civilian labor force, Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn (1981) found that a job seeker's ability to connect with an insider contact of high status is influenced by that job seeker's personal resources and his use of weak ties. Additionally, they found that the status of the contact directly affects the status of the job.

Cannata (2011) used survey and interview data to examine how prospective elementary school teachers utilized social networks during their job search. She found that the job-search process of these prospective teachers was impacted by their belief that they had a better chance of landing a job in schools where they had contacts. Additionally, they intentionally attempted to increase their contacts within schools and districts. Furthermore, Cannata realized that these prospective teachers had information rich networks composed of personal and professional contacts.

Elliott (2001) analyzed data from the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality household survey as he strove to understand how ethnic/immigrant variation impacts referral hiring and the ethnic homogeneity of jobs. His study resulted in several significant findings. One of these findings was that insider, or employee, referrals were responsible for one third of all new hires in Atlanta, Boston, and Los Angeles during the early 1990s, and that the frequency of insider referral use varied by ethnic group. Another finding was that for native-born Blacks, there was a strong positive correlation between insider referrals and ethnically homogeneous jobs.

Petersen, Saporta, and Seidel (2000) conducted a quantitative case study, analyzing hiring data from 35,229 applicants to a United States high-technology organization. While gender was the focus of their study, Petersen, Saporta, and Seidel also disaggregated data by racial groups. When they did so, one of their major findings was that people of color did not have access to the social networks (of White young girls and boys) that facilitated successful hires to this particular organization.

Analyzing data from the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality, Stainback (2008) explored whether social networks utilized during a job search increased the chances of race/ethnic matching[c], and how race/ethnic matching might influence segregation among members of the workforce. His findings supported three conclusions: same-race networks result in race/ethnic workplace segregation; Blacks and Hispanics benefit from formal job search strategies if their goal is to work in a desegregated environment; and cross-race contacts do a better job than same-race contacts of decreasing race/ethnic job matching.

As a result of his study, Mouw (2002) countered previous researchers' claims that Black workers are disadvantaged when they rely on informal networks to find a job. Rather, after analyzing data from the 1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality and the National Longitudinal Study of Youth (NLSY), Mouw found that there was no difference in outcome between Black workers who used contacts to find work and Black workers who depended upon formal job search strategies.

Fernandez and Fernandez-Mateo (2006) analyzed racially diverse employee data from a particular company site, to challenge the assumption that people of color are excluded from job networks. As a result of their study, they determined that while network factors play a role at

numerous points during the recruitment process, there was not much evidence that these network factors resulted in the exclusion of people of color from working at this company.

The Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality data was also analyzed by Green, Tigges, and Diaz (1999). Their research determined that if individual contacts were used to support one's job search, these contacts were most likely to be friends of the same ethnicity or race. This was true for Asian, Black, Hispanic, and White study participants. Also, a significant finding was that job searches that relied on social networks did not always result in better outcomes, and in fact, disadvantaged prospective White and Hispanic employees.

In sum, social networks are utilized by people of all races (in various degrees) when looking for jobs, and these networks can successfully connect a job seeker with an insider contact. A primary finding within this body of literature is that social networks are often racially segregated. Another noteworthy finding is that there is inconsistent evidence related to whether or not reliance on these social networks improves outcomes during one's job search.

Implicit Bias

Bendick and Nunes (2012) recognize that "a mix of covert and overt bias continues to pervade the American hiring system" (p. 239) and that bias negatively impacts the hiring decisions of 20 – 40% of employers. For the purposes of this study, I focused on covert, or implicit bias, defined as "the unconscious association of traits with members of a demographic group" (Bendick & Nunes, 2012, p. 240), as it pertains to race. For as Bendick and Nunes (2012) state:

> When these associations are activated in the hiring process, their predominantly negative content about traditionally excluded groups (e.g., African Americans are uneducated;

> women are not career-committed) handicap members of these groups in competing for jobs. (p. 240)

In a study that examined white individuals' racial prejudice and bias as it impacted their view of white and black candidates, Dovidio and Gaertner (2000), using aversive-racism theory[d] as a framework, found that White study participants discriminated against Black candidates when these candidates were not obviously suited or unsuited for the job. This result, in conjunction with the finding that White participants' self-reporting of racial prejudice diminished over a ten year period, supported Dovidio and Gaertner's hypothesis that subtle racism was a significant factor in the participants' decision making process. They note that "aversive racists . . . will not discriminate in situations in which they recognize that discrimination would be obvious to others or themselves" (p. 315). Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Pugh, and Vaslow (2000) examined the role of modern racism as it interacted with business managers' messages during the hiring process for Black employees. They found that non-Black study participants who rated high on a modern racism assessment discriminated against Black candidates, when a legitimate authority figure provided them with a seemingly reasonable business justification. Similarly, Ziegert and Hanges (2005) explored the role of implicit racial bias against Blacks in employment discrimination, as they replicated and expanded upon the work of Brief et al. (2000). Their results were similar; non-Black individuals with implicit racist attitudes would discriminate if the norms of the business validated such discrimination. In sum, Ziegert and Hanges (2005) concluded that "implicit attitudes are important components in understanding employee discrimination" (p. 561).

Research Design and Methodology

Supporting the qualitative research design and methodology used for the group research project, this individual study utilized an instrumental case study approach, relying on interviews and document analysis to understand how educators of color experience the recruitment and hiring process within the Cityside school district. Creswell (2012) explains that an instrumental case study "serves the purpose of illuminating a particular issue" (p. 465) and allows the researcher "to develop an in-depth understanding of the case" (p. 465). While Chapter 2 details the group study methodology, the sections that follow describe aspects of the qualitative data collection and analysis specific to this individual study of the recruitment and hiring process.

Qualitative Methods Data Collection

Data collection from semi-structured interviews occurred during November 2017 and December 2017. Document review began in August 2017 and continued through February 2018.

Interviews. Semi-structured interviews provided rich data for this case study research. Data for this individual study came from interviews conducted with nine educators of color who had experienced the recruiting and/or hiring process in Cityside. Additionally, data for this individual study came from interviews conducted with six Cityside administrators (of different races) who are responsible for the recruiting and/or hiring process at the district level or building level in Cityside. Thus, I utilized two interview protocols; one for the educators of color and one for the building and district level administrators overseeing the recruitment and hiring processes (Appendices J and K). Tables 3 and 4 summarize participant data for this individual study. The participant race/ethnicity descriptors are intentionally not standardized to illustrate the ethnic richness of the study participants' backgrounds and to honor the language that these participants used when describing their racial and ethnic identity. (Note: I interviewed all study participants,

alone or with a research partner, with the exception of Angelica, Donna, and Paula. These three study participants were interviewed by two other members of my research group.)

Table 3

Participant Table: Educators of Color Who Have Experienced Recruiting/Hiring Process in Cityside

Pseudonym	Role	Race/Ethnicity	Number of Years in Current Role
Angelica	Teacher: Middle School	African-American	(0 - 5)
Carla	Teacher: High School	Asian	(0 - 5)
Carlos	Teacher: Middle School	Black	(0 - 5)
Craig	Teacher: Elementary School	Black/Hispanic/Latino	(0 - 5)
Donna	Counselor: Middle School	Black	(0 - 5)
Diego	Teacher: High School	Black/African-American/African	(0 - 5)
Lauren	Counselor: Middle School	Hispanic	(0 - 5)
Paula	Teacher: Elementary School	African-American	(15 - 20)
Sonya	Teacher: Middle School	Black/Dominican/AfriLatina	(0 – 5)

Table 4

Participant Table: Cityside Administrators Who Oversee Recruiting/Hiring Processes

Pseudonym	Level	Race/Ethnicity	Years of Service in Cityside (Note: These years may not be equivalent to number of years in current role.)
Andrea	District	African-American	20 - 25
Brian	Building	White	0 - 5
Brianna	Building	White	10 - 15
Cooper	Building	Black	5 - 10
Candace	Building	White	20 - 25
David	District	Afro-Latino	0 - 5

My goal was to conduct interviews that encouraged respondents to share rich, thick details of their experience. To facilitate this, I posed questions that helped the respondent easily provide the substance needed for the study (Weiss, 1994). I began with open-ended questions and as needed, supplemented these questions with prompts that provided additional focus. Also, I strove to demonstrate understanding while respectfully helping respondents to fully develop their answers (Weiss, 1994). Concurrently, I kept the CRT counter storytelling tenet in mind, remembering that "the 'voice' component of CRT provides a way to communicate the experience and realities of the oppressed, a first step in understanding the complexities of racism and beginning a process of judicial redress" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 14).

Document review. I reviewed several documents for the purpose of gaining a greater understanding of Cityside's recruiting and hiring practices and policies, at the building as well as district level. A secondary purpose was to triangulate interview data. The documents that were

the most relevant were: Cityside Public Schools Administrative Guide to Teacher and Support Staff Hiring Procedures (from 2017), Cityside Public Schools Teacher Recruitment and Hiring: Administrator Survey, and an informational handout detailing Cityside's Staff Diversity Recruitment, Hiring and Retention Programs and Initiatives.

Qualitative Data Analysis

To analyze the interview data I used the software program Dedoose to support my coding efforts. All interviews were recorded and then transcribed. I organized the interview data by recognizing common themes that emerged during my analysis and literature review, and sorted the data according to these themes. The primary goal for this qualitative analysis was to understand how educators of color experienced the policies and practices that Cityside district and building level leadership implemented to increase their staff diversity. To this end, examples of coding categories included: building level hiring practices, networks, counter storytelling, and "people who look like me." As I analyzed, I kept CRT and social network theories at the forefront, for as Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014) note, "conceptual frameworks and research questions are the best defense against overload" (p. 55) as one sifts through large amounts of data.

Findings

This individual study explores how educators of color experience recruitment and hiring practices in Cityside, in light of the persisting racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. Accordingly, the two research questions that guided this study were: How do Cityside educators of color experience Cityside's recruitment and/or hiring processes? What practices and policies might Cityside school and district level leaders utilize to increase the number of educators of color recruited and hired? In answering the first research question,

through a Critical Race Theory lens, my data analysis found that several study participants perceived that implicit racial biases had the potential to negatively impact Cityside's hiring of educators of color. Additionally, in analyzing data related to the second research question through the framework of social network theories, leveraging social networks as an essential recruitment strategy to increase the presence of educators of color in Cityside schools emerged as a key finding.

Furthermore, two significant findings related to Cityside's hiring committees surfaced in response to both research questions. The first was that hiring committees with a diverse membership have the potential to benefit the candidate of color as well as the institutional hiring process. The second was that there are elements of the Cityside interview and selection process that if tweaked, might better support candidates of color. These elements include: the committee chair's expression of expectations and the ranking system. Finally, analysis of data from this study illuminated counter narratives that powerfully captured educators' of color experiences of microaggressions[e] and racism while participating in Cityside's recruitment and hiring processes. The counter narratives captured here are intentionally lengthier than a typical quote to ensure that these voices that challenge the dominant viewpoint are given full respect.

Implicit Racial Bias

In answering the first research question, I found that several study participants perceived that implicit racial bias had the potential to negatively impact Cityside's hiring of educators of color. Lauren, a Hispanic faculty member at one of the Cityside middle schools had recently served on a hiring committee, and she addressed this in depth:

> The process is biased because you're more likely to rate favorably people who you perceive to be like you, right? So you ask the questions, and then at the end you don't

> talk and you rank everybody. So I'm more likely to rank highly people that I perceive to be like me and at least in this building a lot of our staff is White men or women, so if they're part of the interview process, they're going to rank White men or women more favorably and there's not room for discussion in the interview process. You just sort of say, "Hey, why did you like that person?" They're like, "I don't know, they just gave me a good feeling." Well, that feeling might be because they walked in wearing the same tie, and had the same haircut . . . It's not really fair and our principal now is making a big push to have our staff be more representative of our students. But how do we do that with this sort of handcuffing process that doesn't allow for that discourse, or even to say, "Hey there might be some biases here."

In her interview Lauren acknowledged the reality of implicit biases in the perpetuation of racism. That is, White people are more likely to support White candidates over Black candidates. Also, she noted that because members of the hiring committee are not able to engage in genuine discussion of candidates during the process, there is no room for these implicit biases to be challenged.

Diego, an African American educator at Cityside High School, also spoke to the potential for bias on hiring committees. While Diego does not have experience on a Cityside hiring committee, he is committed to helping Cityside High School increase its staff diversity. In fact, this commitment influenced his decision to accept Cityside's job offer. He shared:

> For me, it felt that it made sense to try to help, try to grow with a community that is renowned . . . It was an opportunity where I'm confident that before I leave Cityside, whenever that may be, there will be an abundance of teachers of color . . . Recruiting, hiring, retaining teachers of color is feasible. It's just in terms of the effort, what strides

> are you willing to make, to make that happen. I think for me, especially here, that's my goal.

Diego offered this analysis of a typical hiring process:

> Your department's going to sit in. So already, the department is already - they look or think 'one way,' - their perception is going to be biased. Not saying that one gender or race think the same, but people's upbringing, there's a few similarities here and there, especially styles in terms of how you see . . . And then you bring in students. That's great, if your population is 'diverse,' but you're going to choose students who you connect with, so you already have that. Then you have the teacher, each teacher applicant, they have their resume, some people are more nervous than some and there's x amount of reasons why, but then afterwards, you look through everything, and you say okay, this is their philosophy . . . Then you have to decide, what do you want? Some people are very intentional, and say, "We need one Asian, one Hispanic." To me, that's not the way to go about it. But you also do want to figure out not in terms of a quota, but what will provide the best all around culture for our department, for us to have diverse ideas . . . A lot of questions should be had, sometimes that's had in the process, sometimes that's not. Once all that is settled, then you come to a decision. Especially if you are used to an environment where things may seem or look the same, subconsciously you may not even realize, because of what you're used to. So once that happens, that's how hiring works . . . There's a cycle; it exists. There's a system. The way to break through that system is you have to be very intentional in regards to what you want, what's the end goal?

Diego's commentary highlights how easy it is for hiring committee members to perpetuate the status quo as they are often most attracted to candidates who are very similar to themselves, and lacking in diversity.

Sonya, an AfriLatina educator at one of the middle schools, also addressed implicit biases, from the perspective of a candidate moving through the hiring process. She recognized that these biases had the potential to negatively impact her reception by Cityside hiring committee members, and thus their hiring decision:

> Eventually I'm playing into what are they looking for, what do they need me to be, who are they perceiving me to be at this moment? . . . So I just have to play some politics there . . . I got my hair done, I got my nails done, I had my outfit set up. I was really playing into politics. I knew it's Cityside, but I still didn't know how Cityside was.

In other words, as Sonya prepared for her interview, she intentionally took steps to ensure that her physical presentation conformed to what she perceived would be well-accepted within a White dominant culture, assuming that this would work in her favor.

Craig, a Black Latino elementary school educator, took an even stronger stance, and asserted that his colleagues were not guided by implicit biases, but rather by explicit racism. He expressed that when he served on a Cityside hiring committee, White hiring committee members quite intentionally dismissed candidates of color. Craig voiced, "[White teachers] will pick at little things to try to hire their own, and I have seen it."

The insights of Lauren, Diego, Sonya, and Craig highlight the significant potential for educators of color to perceive that implicit racial bias plays a role in the hiring process. Andrea, a Cityside administrator, also addressed the role that bias plays in hiring:

> So that was very powerful for me to see, because the inclusion on the hiring committees is a double-edged sword . . . You get people's input, but often people want the candidate they're most comfortable with . . . Or that brings everything, the full package. And we're fortunate here because for most positions we've had a lot of candidates. You know, people can be very selective. So it's like, "oh this one has everything we need." So sometimes we need people to be able to say, "Yeah. Well this person they have x, y, and z, but this person has 'x'." And we don't always need the person we're comfortable with. As a matter of fact, we need people who are going to be bringing in some differences.

Social Networks

In answering the second research question, I found that leveraging social networks to increase the presence of educators of color in schools has the potential to be an effective recruitment and hiring strategy. Study participants addressed the influential role of networks from the perspective of how networks helped them secure a job in Cityside, and also from the perspective of how networks helped them, as administrators, connect with qualified candidates.

For example, Sonya, the AfriLatina middle school faculty member, attributed her Cityside job offer to the networking efforts of her department head at the school where she was completing her student teaching requirement. Also, she spoke to her belief in the power of interpersonal connections as influencers of career advancement:

> The department at the A--- School was the one sending out my resume. I didn't apply for anything. She was the one using her networks to get me into an interview, because I didn't know what to do . . . I didn't have a network. A lot of jobs are based on who you know. If it wasn't for her sending in my resume, I wouldn't be here, and that's either, you got someone that's in, or you don't know where to go.

When interviewing Sonya, it was evident that she genuinely valued and appreciated the mentorship and advocacy of this department head. Sonya emphasized that when it was time to look for jobs, she felt lost and unequipped for the process. Sonya strongly believed that if this department head had not been proactive and willing to activate collegial networks on her behalf, she would most likely not have found a job.

Similarly, Carla, an Asian educator, expressed that one of the factors that helped her to have an expedited application process and receive a job offer within Cityside Public Schools was her positive relationships with Cityside veteran teachers during her student teaching experience and their willingness to promote her.

> So I had student taught for two teachers simultaneously here and they both put in a good word for me and they had both been here for 20+ years. I think that played a role [in acquiring current job] . . . So I only got interviewed once.

These veteran teachers likely relied on their internal school networks to make their positive impressions of Carla known, thus leading to Carla's quick hire.

Additionally, three other study participants, Angelica, an African American middle school teacher; Donna, a Black/Haitian-American, middle school counselor; and Paula, an African American elementary school teacher, shared that it was through social networking that they ended up with Cityside jobs. Angelica noted:

> Prior to this school, I was employed at a charter school in Cityside. I had been working there for about five years, and we were in the middle of contract negotiations. Unfortunately, the head of school and I could not meet eye to eye in terms of what I would like my contract to be, and somewhere in the midst of that, a friend of mine who happened to know our [current] assistant principal, mentioned to her that she knew me, [a

> teacher] looking [to transfer to another] school. Then we connected, and I submitted my application and interviewed, and I'm here.

Similarly, when Donna needed to part ways with a school system she had been in for three years, she recalled Fred, an educator that she had connected with during a professional development training at the start of her time in the district. Since that time, Fred had moved on to a principalship in Cityside. Donna explained:

> I called Fred and nothing in life happens by chance. It just so happened he was looking for a guidance counselor. I literally ran here with the phone while talking. It's like you start working with someone, and you feel like you could have run and then it ended. When I got the opportunity, I just couldn't believe it. That's how I ended up here, working here.

Finally, Paula learned of her current job through her landlords, who happened to be the uncle and aunt of her current school leader. Paula shared:

> So actually, when my first husband moved here we'd lived in an apartment that belonged to Halle's [current principal's] aunt and uncle. And the landlord was like, "Oh, my niece is going to try to be a principal at the school," because she was at The Freedman School . . . "So she's looking for teachers." So I interviewed here and took the teacher's test the same month, I think the same day or the same weekend. And that's how I got the job here.

Paula's story, as well as the stories of Angelica and Donna, clearly illustrate the power of personal connections in support of career advancement.

Cityside administrators shared perspectives that supported the positive networking experiences of these educators of color. For example, Cooper, a Black administrator at one of

the middle schools, spoke in detail about the critical role that networks play in his efforts to diversify his staff:

> And I rarely use formal methods. I use a lot of social media . . . I think I have, at this particular point in time, something like twenty-two thousand connections on LinkedIn. I am also one who spends a lot of time informally connecting with folks at churches, community groups, and I will try to maintain relationships with educators at schools across the state. And my feelings about this are that the recruitment is not just about we have a position that's opening, let's go out and find someone, but more about managing relationships and having open communication with folks . . . So I have not done job fairs. Primarily, it's really been informal networks and word of mouth . . . Using networks in terms of information that folks can get out to their alumni associations. There was a period of time in which we had some success with them actually hiring Donovan Scholars from Boston College. I would discreetly ask or share information with our current Donovan Scholars who were hired to make sure that that information went out to people that were in that network. Again, for me, it's been privileging a relational piece in terms of understanding that it's not just that there's a posting . . . In the case of the Donovan Scholars, folks actually having someone who can say, "They're serious about doing this work at this school. Here, check out this opportunity." I think that has much more resonance than just putting something out . . . I think the success we've had at this school has been because the mechanisms to connect with candidates of color have been about personal connections.

Cooper emphasized the importance of these interpersonal connections, and recognized the value of maintaining contact, even during times when he was not in a position to hire. Also, Cooper

recognized that schools develop reputations related to their hiring practices, and these reputations can either attract or deter qualified candidates of color. In his words:

> And I get that this is more of a qualitative piece than it is quantitative, but also a piece just of street credibility, or what folks say in certain networks about whether or not a district or a school is really open to diverse candidates, or have supports in place for them. Certainly, I think that the reputation that I've been able to create for myself and this school is one that says, "If folks are qualified and they are applying, then it is highly likely that we will give them a chance." I think that certainly plays into things for us as a school . . . People will have informal conversations about what they think their lived experience has been. If folks applying for jobs at schools and feeling like they can't get an interview, or feeling like there was some microaggression that happened at an interview that makes them then informally say to a colleague, "Don't go there. They don't really want you there."

Andrea, one of the Black administrators, also spoke to the importance of networks. She noted that "being able to bring in [to Cityside Public Schools] some additional Black male educators was super, [and this] . . . expanded networks because they brought their own networks of people." Thus, Andrea was well aware that these Black male educators could have connections to other educators of color that could also end up as Cityside Public Schools employees. Her remark highlighted that one's personal connections matter and could be leveraged to successfully fill job openings in Cityside.

Additionally, Candace, a White administrator, recognized the importance of specific networks in increasing the educators of color in her building, and provided examples of networks that she has utilized.

> I'm part of some progressive educator's networks and so advertised, asked folks, reached out to TAG [Teacher Activist Group-Boston] and said . . . "We're not a social justice school . . . but we care deeply about social justice and are really working to increase our diversity of our staff to better match our population . . . So if you know anyone who would be interested, please in your networks reach out." . . . Then also, CARE [Coalition for Authentic Reform in Education] . . ..

Similarly, Brianna, another White administrator, addressed her utilization of formal organizations to increase staff diversity in her building and in so doing, highlighted why staff diversity is essential:

> [We] really want to have a staff that looks like all of our students. We want every student to be able to connect with . . . and that includes people of color, Hispanics who appear White . . . Asians . . . White teachers, African-American teachers. So we are thoughtful about that . . . So just spreading the word far and wide, recruiting at conferences . . . I always go to the [name of conference] . . . So through those contacts, trying to spread the word.

Both Candace and Brianna tapped into formal organizations with social justice missions that aligned with their staff diversity goals. Candace shared that as a result of one of her recent outreaches, she played a role in the hiring of a woman of color into Cityside.

> Actually, when I gave my notice to my [former] boss [a Cityside Curriculum Coordinator] to take this position . . . I put it out to both of those groups . . . The current person who took my position is a woman of color, Rachel Garcia. [Prior to applying for the position], she reached out. I [had offered], "Look, if people want to reach out to me. I'm happy to answer any questions." I said, "I'm leaving and this great position is open.

> It's really exciting and you can shape the curriculum." Rachel reached out to me and so we had a lot of conversations back and forth, then she ended up applying for the job. I put in a good word for her just based on my conversations. I think that that helped.

Also, Candace provided an example of how her hiring of one teacher of color quickly led to the hiring of another teacher of color in the district, as a result of collegial networks:

> For Social Studies . . . We actually had a lot of candidates of color. My finalists were all candidates of color, which was awesome, and again, hired a brand new teacher . . . I asked her point blank in the interview, "Are you okay being one of the few people of color at staff?" . . . But then she kind of helped us poach someone from [district name]. He [a Black educator] had been her mentor.

While Candace shared these success stories, she simultaneously lamented that she does not have enough access to the networks that would quickly connect her with educators of color:

> I don't have the networks that all colleagues have, so I try to reach out . . . You can't rely on every individual principal drawing on their own individual networks . . . I looked at that and I want to try to be a little more active in reaching out and saying, "Hey" and tapping into that network. I got to be honest because I'm like just being patient with myself. I can't do it all at once . . ..

Candace expressed feelings of frustration as she voiced that she is not increasing her staff diversity at the pace that she would like.

Brian, also a White administrator, had concerns similar to those of Candace, and addressed his lack of direct access to networks that would include candidates of color. He also noted how he attempted to overcome this hurdle:

> So, I don't have access to those same networks that Halle [a Black administrator] does, just because of where she comes from. But, she's been really great about offering to use those networks to help us . . . I was able to reach out to Halle, and say, "Halle, my pool is not . . . I have no one in here, what can you do?" And she said, "Alright, I'll have a guy call you who's a friend of mine who does this work. He'll give you a call, and don't worry, he's got you." . . . And he called, and it worked . . . I can draft off of other people's networks . . . I don't think she's the only one who would let us do that because I think that everyone is dedicated to the same [goal] . . . [We're] doing this for all our kids.

The reflections of Candace and Brian illuminate success stories as well as barriers to effective networking. Additionally, their reflections highlight the value of collaborative efforts between White administrators and administrators of color in Cityside.

Hiring Committee Membership

In analyzing data related to both research questions, I found that participants perceived that hiring committees with a diverse membership have the potential to benefit the candidate of color as well as the institutional hiring process. Several of the study participants who were educators of color shared that during their interview their comfort level increased if someone on the hiring committee looked like they did, or at least offered a sense of familiarity. Also, several of the administrators who participated in this study spoke to their belief in the necessity of hiring committee members with different racial and cultural backgrounds and a range of views and experiences.

Craig, Lauren, and Carlos directly addressed how the make-up of their Cityside hiring committees positively impacted their interview process. Craig, the Black Latino elementary school educator shared:

> It was a wonderful experience I think from my point of view because it was a whole committee that hired me. There were different perspectives, different voices. I had two Black women . . . the School Committee member who's White, and another . . . So, it was very diverse . . . During the interview when I came in and saw two Black women, it was kind of a sigh of relief. It was like, "Ahhh. Okay. I feel a little bit better." It made me feel more comfortable.

Lauren, the Hispanic educator at one of the middle schools had a similar experience:

> You know, it's interesting because I only remember two people who were at the table now and I wonder who the others were . . . One of them was a school psychologist . . . and the other was an assistant principal . . . She's a lively Hispanic woman . . . Many people find her intimidating, but she reminds me of my mother a little bit, so to me it wasn't quite the same intimidation that I think others feel from her . . . So I do think in a way it helped . . . I think if you walk into a room of people who seem and feel like you then you're going to be more comfortable.

For Lauren, appreciating the similarity between the assistant principal's personality type and her own mother's, helped her feel at ease. Furthermore, Carlos, the Black middle school teacher, offered insight into *why* seeing faces like his on the hiring committee provided him a significant level of comfort:

> I can think back and say I . . . relaxed in my chair a lot differently [upon seeing two administrators of color in the group of six], than I would have . . . You walk in and see a familiar face, Black principal or just another minority person in the room, it gives a different feeling, I believe. And the feeling was just, all right, some of my wording or statements or things that may be misunderstood by one person may be understood by

> another. So, if I was to leave this room and they were to share a conversation, there may be someone interpreting my wording differently, and someone backing my wording differently. That just was the feeling, where I think that kind of allowed me to ease myself while I was in my chair . . . Threw me back with the interview questions being on the table. So it created a stir of feelings, but the feeling of being at ease was with the faces.

In addition to noting his increased level of comfort in the presence of educators of color, Carlos so clearly illuminates the root of this comfort. He believes that these hiring committee members who were educators of color would genuinely understand him, countering the impact of potential negative implicit bias from White hiring committee members. Thus, a weight that might have otherwise accompanied him was lifted.

Supporting the experiences of these educators of color, and particularly the insight of Carlos, Brian, one of the White administrator study participants, addressed how he does all he can to establish interview committees with diverse membership.

> So, last year, as a school, we decided to tweak the process, to make it more likely that we would interview a diverse pool of candidates. And therefore, make it more likely that we would hire more educators of color . . . It was about ensuring that the composition of the interview committees reflected the diversity of our school. That's the best way I can say that . . . So that, there'd be more diverse perspectives, which would lead to a more, sort of, diverse take on candidates and . . . make it more likely that we consider other factors besides, this person spent 17 years in a classroom, hire them . . . And last year, I would say that it definitely worked . . . I'm trying to think off the top of my head, but I think we hired four teacher positions and, you know 50% is just two people, but two are teachers

> of color and two aren't. And the two that came who aren't, is because literally no matter what we tried to do, there was not a single applicant of color in those pools.

Thus, Brian recognized that to increase the number of educators of color in his building, it was crucial that the voices of his hiring committees represent a wide range of opinions. Supporting this, Brian shared a two-page document (*[School Name] Teacher & Support Staff Hiring Committee Selection Process*) that he created to provide guidance for his school's hiring committees. An excerpt from this document follows:

> The [school name] Hiring Committee Selection Process was developed in consultation with . . . to ensure that hiring committees reflect this commitment to diversity . . . If there are no staff members of color in the first three slots, the principal will appoint a staff member of color to the committee at his/her discretion . . . The principal or family liaison may recruit [parent] committee members if volunteers do not reflect the diversity of the student population. We strive for balanced representation on hiring committees.

Like Brian, Candace believes in the importance of diverse hiring committees, but she has been unable to implement this. When asked if she has an educator of color on each of her hiring committees, Candace responded, "I can't because I don't have enough. I try, and I don't." Cooper, on the other hand, has been able to guarantee a strong voice from an educator of color on all of his hiring committees because it is *his* voice. Cooper, a Black administrator, has made the recruiting and hiring process for his building a priority. He explained:

> I am deeply involved in every step of the process . . . I am deeply involved in the screening of resumes. The construction of hiring committees, selecting candidates that will be interviewed, and then certainly within the process. And again, rationale for that is that I understand that there are certain colleagues who have the desire to recruit or reach

> out to candidates of color, but the screening process will not know to prioritize looking for demographic information. And then certainly, I think will not take into consideration some of the experiences that a person of color might have, and particularly if their journey through education has been non-traditional. Those folks will often get discounted because there won't be a sense of cultural currency and understanding what the impact of those life or lived experiences are . . . That is something that I've realized if I'm not at the helm of, people will fall through the cracks.

Cooper clearly identifies his racial background as a key influencer in his approach to recruiting and hiring. He connects strongly with candidates of color, recognizing that he understands the context from which they come and their life paths in ways that his White colleagues likely do not. Cooper believes that it is his leadership around the goal of increased staff diversity that has resulted in his building's success in this area.

Interview and Selection Process

In analyzing data related to both research questions, I found that there are elements of the Cityside interview and selection process that if tweaked, might better support candidates of color. These elements include the committee chair's expression of expectations and the ranking system. While only a few study participants provided data that led to this finding, given the high stakes nature of the interview and selection process for candidates, it was worthwhile data to highlight.

Expression of expectations. As this study data was analyzed, it became clear that not all hiring committee chairs directly address the district's goal of attaining 30% qualified educators of color with committee members. Evidence for this claim surfaced when Craig, responded to an interview question prompt regarding initial conversations amongst hiring committee members.

He emphatically stated that the topic of increasing the racial diversity of staff at his school was not discussed at the hiring committee table. Craig went on to express:

> I think the only people that know about this [district goal of reaching 30% educators of color] are either the union reps, who are myself and a Black woman, the principals. That's it. I guarantee you if you ask a normal teacher, another teacher, they would have no clue about this 30% thing.

The lack of explicit conversation related to racial diversity during Craig's hiring committee experience was not necessarily typical for Cityside. Candace, a White Cityside principal (not in Craig's building), stated this about conversations with her fellow hiring committee members, and with her staff at large:

> At the hiring committees, it's very clear. I said, "We're looking to diversify" or "This team is all White men." . . . We need to have kids connecting to different folks, so when we're looking at candidates . . . We also name when we do the debrief as well, we try to be really transparent. It's like this person really matches my educational background, they seem really comfortable to me, so what does that mean when I'm looking at who I think is strong? We try to talk about that as well and what supports might be needed, but that is part of transparency in the process . . . That's part of our school improvement goals and it lines up with the district initiatives as well. You know, this idea of trying to name in our conversations . . . you're all great and there's a lot of White people here. Our kids aren't all that way and we have an achievement gap for our kids of color and our students on IEP's. We try to just make it part of our conversations.

These narratives of Candace and Craig highlight that Cityside leadership may not be consistently working with the staff at their schools to address the district's goal of increasing its percentage of educators of color.

Ranking system. Andrea, a Black administrator who oversees hiring and recruiting processes within Cityside, notes, "We have the whole ranking and reading system that goes on that every school uses . . . It's a consistent practice." While it may be a consistent practice, data analysis revealed that not all study participants fully supported this institutionalized "ranking" system. Lauren, the Hispanic middle school faculty member, and Craig both described their experiences with the ranking system. Lauren noted:

> So you ask the questions, and then at the end . . . You don't talk . . . You rank everybody . . . Our principal now is making a big push to sort of have our staff be more representative of our students. But how do we do that with this sort of handcuffing process that doesn't allow for that discourse . . ..

Lauren felt that this approach to the determination of finalists has the potential to hinder hiring committee conversations that could ensure candidates of color receive serious consideration. Thus, Lauren viewed this system as potentially supporting biased decisions. Craig also shared his thoughts on how he found the ranking system to be ineffective:

> The top three candidates were White women. You guys mean to tell me, we're not going to give the two Chinese women nor the Black woman a chance, actually have them in for a demo lesson? . . . Finally, everyone gave in and said . . . Well, it was myself and another Black woman. We went with our top four, instead of our top three.

Craig connected the ranking system to what he perceived to be an unfair process and result for qualified candidates of color.

Reflections on Cityside's ranking system also surfaced during this study's document review. The CPS Teacher Recruitment and Hiring Administrator Survey, an October 2016 survey administered by the district office to Cityside school administrators, included this question specific to the ranking process: "Do you find the candidate ranking process by committee members helpful in arriving at your final employment decision?" While the majority of respondents answered in the affirmative, there were still a significant number of respondents who did not feel as positively. That is, 2.5% of the administrator participants did not find the ranking process to be helpful, and 32.5% found it "sometimes" helpful. Respondents also had the opportunity to explain their feelings related to the ranking process. One respondent shared that "the initial ranking can be a good conversation starter but it can also be a barrier to a fuller conversation, with people feeling as though the initial ranking has more weight than anything that comes afterwards." Another respondent addressed the need for hiring committee participants to understand how the ranking process intersects with decision making:

> I used to not understand why we do this, but now I fully believe in the process. It gives all members a chance to put their initial thoughts down on paper before being influenced by others. At the same time, it is critical for all members of the committee to understand that this ranking is not binding and is just a starting point for conversation.

Additionally, in response to a survey question that asked for feedback on Cityside's hiring process, a respondent suggested, "Maybe eliminate or drastically change the ranking system to be more explicit as just "input" or "notes" to the principal to consider, rather than a vote process, which can really hamper the process." These administrator perspectives demonstrate that not all Cityside hiring committees approach this ranking protocol in the same way, and that there is room to improve the protocol.

Counter Storytelling

Two study participants in particular, Craig and Carlos, shared personal stories that powerfully captured their experiences of racial microaggressions while participating in Cityside's recruitment and/or hiring processes. Craig, the Black Latino elementary school educator, noted that White teachers continue to make up the majority of the teaching staff at his Cityside school, and that this disproportionate representation has been difficult to overcome. Craig passionately spoke to this fact:

> Last year was my first experience being part of a hiring committee. We were hiring a [grade level] teacher. In this committee we had about six people, of course, majority White women. Being on that side of the table made me realize the reason why we're like this, is not just because we have a lack of applicants that are of color but because in this district, I strongly believe, this is my opinion, that White women have power . . . Most of our teachers here in this school, I'd say 90% of them, are White women . . . This committee that we had when we were interviewing for the [grade level] position, we did have two candidates that were different. Everyone else were all White females, but we had a Black candidate and two Chinese candidates, Chinese-Americans . . . From being in that perspective I actually saw the insights of how they fight for their own, despite the fact that a person of color would have the credentials . . . They look for every excuse to bring that White person into the school . . . Myself and another Black woman, we fought for people of color, just to give them the chance . . . You know, you can never find the perfect candidate, but if we don't give people a chance, we will never take that next step to diversify our staff. I'm not saying just to take anybody . . . So, I'm gonna give you the perfect example, and actually there was an argument at the table. It was Chinese-

American woman who has been teaching in, I think it was a private school in Boston, for nine years. Her expertise is math . . . Our population is about 95% Black students and we want to bring our math scores high. So, we have a person with expertise in math. She had said during the interview that she really loves the fact that this school is in her neighborhood. She lived right down the street. She had said in her interview, "I love the fact that I'm down the street, and I can just conveniently come to school. I'm part of the community." When we decided which candidates we wanted to pick, the White women, there were two specifically in there, that said, "We don't want her because we don't like the fact that she said she lives down the street. So I said, "Wait. What do you mean? She's part of the community . . . We want community engagement. Why do you not want her because she said she lives down the street?" They said, "Oh, because then it sounds like, I mean, it was just so convenient for her. She doesn't want to go far for work, she lives down the street." I'm like, "Are you serious?" . . . Right. I actually said that. I said, "You think that's a reason not to hire her." So, you're actually going to nitpick . . . I was on the [grade level] committee but my other friends, who are other Black teachers, on other committees, we all had the same experience . . . If there is a person of color, they will find a reason to say that they're not qualified, instead of giving that person of color a chance . . . The top three candidates were White women. I said, "You guys mean to tell me, we're not gonna give the two Chinese women nor the Black woman a chance, actually have them in for a demo lesson? Why aren't we giving the one I rooted for, the Chinese-American, who her expertise was in math, why is she not coming back? I don't get it. I don't understand." . . . Finally, everyone gave in and said . . . Well, it was myself and another black woman. We went with our top four, instead of our top three. She

> finally came in and did a demo lesson. Basically, the White women had their [way] . . . They wanted their specific woman, and they got her. She's here.

Craig clearly believes that racism played an active role in the decision making that took place during this hiring process. He emphatically claims that the White women on this committee controlled the outcome. Furthermore, Craig supports his perspective by relaying that his Black colleagues within the district have had similar negative race-based encounters while on hiring committees.

Cooper, the Black administrator at one of the middle schools, also voiced that he has experienced hurtful race related biases while striving to increase the number educators of color on his staff:

> The biggest struggle for me, even in this district that's supposed to be progressive . . . My assumption would be having a staff that's over fifty percent people of color would be something that people would celebrate, but it's weird because it feels like only people who are only part of this school community, in terms of family, staff, or students, mention it. It's not something that is given that much credence, I think, even at the district level . . . And it'll be fascinating for me because I'll hear, "Hey, we're trying to work on getting people. We can't get people." And I can stand up in a meeting and say, "I got like fifteen if y'all want em," but there won't be a connection that way. For me, that will communicate, "Okay, I get it. This is a political priority, but not an actual one." . . . And the other piece will be, which again for me kind of communicates the deep need for diversity, race, cultural proficiency work, will be the typical assumption that if there are lots of folks of color who are hired . . . The full gamut of nasty things - that either it's nepotism and these are people's family members, that is stuff that I've heard several

> times, and/or this is affirmative action and these folks aren't good . . . These folks were hired because of what they look like and not because of their credentials, and I don't think folks understand. There's a lot of work that's happening at schools now on the idea of trauma-sensitive schools and how traumatic experiences limit your cognitive abilities if that's kind of living with you. I think there's no understanding how deep the disrespect is to a candidate of color or a staff member of color if you're not taking into consideration what their journey was, what their credentials are, and if you are just making an assumption that they were hired because they were some shade of brown and that they are not someone who is a hard-worker or not someone who is authentically qualified to do the work.

Cooper was clearly discouraged that his efforts to increase staff diversity were often dismissed and invalidated by members of his greater school community. He highlighted that it was not only his efforts that were shunned, but that in shunning his efforts, Cityside community members were also disrespecting the educators of color on his staff. In closing, Cooper appreciated the opportunity to be a participant in this study, hoping that it would offer perspectives to counter dominant views:

> That's why I think this study is such a great idea, because I think people will minimize what they're asking, and what they're saying when they say, "Hey, I want to diversify my staff." Particularly today, the political environment that our country is in, where people are all over the place in terms of this idea of affirmative action, and this notion that we privilege seeking out educators or any professionals based on their identity, that that somehow is reverse discrimination to folks who are part of the dominant culture and group.

Discussion

Using Critical Race Theory and social network theories as conceptual frameworks, against the backdrop of racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools, this study sought to answer the questions: How do Cityside educators of color experience Cityside's recruitment and/or hiring processes? What practices and policies might Cityside school and district level leaders utilize to increase the number of educators of color recruited and hired? Data analysis from this study revealed that: implicit racial biases have the potential to negatively impact Cityside's hiring of educators of color, leveraging social networks may be an essential recruitment strategy to increase the presence of educators of color in Cityside schools, hiring committees with a diverse membership may benefit the candidate of color as well as the institutional hiring process, and there are elements of the Cityside interview and selection process that if tweaked, might better support candidates of color. Additionally, analysis of data from this study illuminated counter narratives that powerfully captured the experiences of educators of color with microaggressions and perceived racism as they participated in Cityside's recruitment and hiring processes.

The following sections discuss the implications of these findings - specifically, the findings related directly to implicit racial bias, social networks, and counter storytelling - and how they connect to existing literature.

Implicit Racial Bias

The potential for the negative impact of implicit racial bias during Cityside hiring processes surfaced as a significant concern during the data analysis for this individual study. This finding is in keeping with CRT's recognition of the permanence of racism at the institutional level. Specifically, interviewees worried that racially homogeneous hiring

committees, that is, hiring committees with majority White membership, would end up preferring White candidates over candidates of color. Lauren captured this problem well: "The process is biased because you're more likely to rate favorably people who you perceive to be like you . . . and at least in this building a lot of our staff are White men or women." Similarly, Diego discussed how easy it is for hiring committee members to perpetuate the status quo as they are often most attracted to candidates who are very similar to themselves. He acknowledged that this attraction to those who are like ourselves, happens at an implicit level. To this point, he remarked: "Subconsciously you may not even realize, because of what you're used to." Again, this becomes especially problematic when the majority of the hiring committee is made up of White educators. One of Cityside's district level leaders also recognized the challenge of hiring committees moving beyond the status quo as she noted, "People want the candidate they're most comfortable with."

Furthermore, the potential for the negative impact of implicit racial bias was also expressed, though perhaps less directly, by Sonya and Carlos as they reflected on their Cityside interview experience. Both of these study participants spoke to their awareness of how White committee members might perceive them during their interview. For Sonya, this awareness influenced her physical presentation on her interview day. For Carlos, the concern was that during his interview, his words or statements might be misunderstood.

These study participants' perspectives of the potentially negative impact of racial implicit biases during Cityside's hiring process, are supported by the research of numerous scholars (e.g. McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001) who studied homophily, the idea that "similarity breeds attraction" (McPherson et al., 2001, p. 415). To counter the potential for these biases to influence hiring committee members' decision-making process, discussion about the issue

amongst all those who oversee and participate on Cityside hiring committees is a critical first step. (See Appendix P for a detailed list of recommendations to the district.) Also, it is imperative that hiring committee leadership makes an explicit connection between this issue and the district's stated goal of increasing its percentage of educators of color.

While acknowledgment of issues and genuine conversation is necessary, it is not enough. Concrete steps need to be taken to counter harmful racial biases. Determination of the most effective racial bias counter strategies was beyond the scope of this study. Thus, I recommend that Cityside leadership take on this task to support their efforts moving forward. The work of Todd, Bodenhausen, Richeson, and Galinsky (2011) on perspective taking, and the work of Rudman, Ashmore, and Gary (2001) that examines the impact of diversity training, are two places to start. Additionally, for baseline data, it would be worthwhile for Cityside to keep track of, and analyze data gathered in response to these questions: How many educators of color apply for each position? What percentage of the educators of color that apply get interviewed, and of those who interview, what percentage get hired? What are the reasons for individual educators of color not being granted interviews and/or not offered the job for which they applied?

Finally, Cityside administrators need to ensure that their hiring committees are of diverse membership and of diverse perspectives so that biases are more likely to be challenged. Data analysis showed that diverse committees are not consistently present during Cityside hiring processes. In sum, negative implicit racial biases, particularly within the context of majority White hiring committees, are likely to lead to the continuation of the status quo, which in Cityside's case is the disproportional hiring of White educators, at the expense of educators of color.

Social Networks

Data analysis revealed that social networks helped Cityside educators of color connect with their current job placement, as these networks were relied upon by applicants as well as by Cityside administrators. Examples of the success of these networks were found when reflecting upon the recruiting and hiring experiences of Sonya, Angelica, Donna, Carla, and Paula. These interviewees came to Cityside as a result of a personal or collegial connection (direct or indirect) that they had with a member of the Cityside Public Schools leadership team. These success stories support the work of Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn (1981) who found that job seekers' use of weak ties can impact their ability to connect with an insider contact of high status, who in the case of this study is a Cityside building principal. Also, these hiring scenarios support the work of Mouw (2002) who countered previous researchers' claims that Black workers are disadvantaged when they rely on informal networks to find a job.

Additionally, five of the administrators who were interviewed for this study, Andrea, David, Candace, Cooper, and Brian, addressed the importance they place on social networks, whether same-race or mixed-race networks. While it was not explicitly stated, my perception is that the same-race social networks utilized by Cityside administrators helped them to connect with Black educators, though not necessarily with non-Black educators of color. It should be noted that Candace and Brian, two White administrators, recognized that having access to these networks presented significant challenges because of their race. The experiences of all five of these administrators (the Black/Latino administrators with easy network access and the White administrators with difficult access) is supported by the research that finds social networks to be racially segregated more often than not (e.g. Petersen et al., 2000; Stainback, 2008).

Based on my findings, I believe that to increase the number of educators of color in Cityside (and beyond), establishing and relying upon social networks needs to be a significant aspect of the recruitment and hiring process. Given that social networks are frequently racially segregated, White administrators in Cityside should be guaranteed support from their non-White colleagues during the candidate recruitment process. Without this support, White administrators will continue to struggle to meet the district's staff diversity goal. Furthermore, it is critical that *all* administrators work to tap into networks that are likely to result in candidates of color from a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds.

Counter Storytelling

Analysis of data from this study, through the lens of CRT, unearthed counter narratives that powerfully captured instances of microaggressions and perceived racism experienced by educators of color while participating in Cityside's recruitment and hiring processes. These narratives challenge the likely dominant viewpoint, supporting the permanence of racism tenet as they detail instances of racial bias and microaggressions (Capper, 2015).

This chapter detailed two of these counter narratives, as shared by Craig and Cooper. Craig described his time on a hiring committee where, from his perspective, White teachers on the committee quite intentionally dismissed the strong candidacy of the selected candidates of color. Supporting the research of Dovidio and Gaertner (2000), who found that "aversive racists . . . will not discriminate in situations in which they recognize that discrimination would be obvious to others or themselves" (p. 315), Craig's story illustrated that hiring committee members can fall back on seemingly sensible reasons for their decision to not move an educator of color forward. Cooper discussed how his successful efforts to increase staff diversity in his

building were often dismissed and invalidated by members of his greater school community. In effect, disrespecting the teachers of color on his staff.

Through this study, I hope to have empowered the voices of those who do not necessarily get heard. Members of the majority race should listen to stories, from all perspectives, in order to enrich their own reality. As Delgado (1989) eloquently states:

> Racial and class-based isolation prevents the hearing of diverse stories and counterstories. It diminishes the conversation through which we create reality, construct our communal lives . . . It is through this process that we can overcome ethnocentrism and the unthinking conviction that our way of seeing the world is the only one - that the way things are is inevitable, natural, just, and best . . .. (p. 2439)

In summary, Chapter 3 discussed the findings of this individual study regarding Cityside educators of color's experience with recruiting and hiring. The next chapter will synthesize the findings of all six studies related to how educators of color experience racial disproportionality. In this larger group case study, the focus included the experience of educators of color and their perceptions related to pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, student discipline, their racial/ethnic identity as it impacts students, evaluation, and job satisfaction. Chapter 4 will also include recommendations to be considered by Cityside Public Schools and suggest future studies of educators of color in the district.

CHAPTER 4[4]

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on schools. More specifically, we sought to answer the research question: How do educators of color experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools? We defined the educator pipeline to include the preparation, recruitment, and professional experiences related to students and colleagues, as well as retention of educators. Because race served as a common thread that tied each of the individual studies together, Critical Race Theory (CRT) was utilized as a framework to analyze the data collected from a job satisfaction survey, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), semi-structured interviews, and a document review. The basic principle of CRT espouses that racism has become a normalized practice within our society (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

In the following sections, information will be presented regarding district context that is relevant to this study followed by common themes that emerged from the individual findings. The chapter will conclude with recommendations of practice for Cityside district administrators and areas for future research. To protect the identity of each one of the participants, a pseudonym has been given to replace their actual name and when necessary their role and the level of school has not been identified.

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[4] This chapter was jointly written by the authors listed and reflects the team approach of this project: Charles J. Drane III, Diana Guzzi, Roderick V. MacNeal, Jr., Leslie M. Patterson, Nancy Robbins Taylor, and Joan M. Woodward.

District Context

Cityside Public Schools is one of the leading school districts in Massachusetts for staff diversity, with 26% staff and 22% teachers of color (Cityside Public Schools, Office of Human Resources, 2017). Yet, the district is striving to do even better in this area. To this end, Cityside Public Schools' district level administrators are devoting significant resources to realizing this goal. Specifically, established in the FY18 budget is a new initiative related to increasing educator diversity as well as a new district level position, both designed to actively address racial disproportionality, or the "student-teacher diversity gap" (Cityside Public Schools, Office of Human Resources, 2017) in Cityside Public Schools. The primary goal of the diversity initiative is to highlight that increasing the number of educators of color in the district is a matter of urgency, and to ensure that efforts in this area are supported by "diversity, inclusion, and equity programs and initiatives" (Cityside Public Schools, Office of Human Resources, 2017) across the district. The new district level position is in place to focus explicitly on diversity recruitment. It should be noted that several study participants expressed excitement for the creation of this new role.

Additionally, Cityside administrators at the district and building level are facilitating professional development experiences with a cultural proficiency focus. For example, administrators are discussing the content of Mica Pollock's book *Schooltalk* (2017) at their monthly administrative council meetings, and this book is also being used by one of Cityside's principals as a basis of discussion with his staff. Another principal offered an optional course for the educators in her building that examined racial bias, while yet another principal is leading his staff through a discussion of Glenn Singleton's *Courageous Conversations About Race* (2015).

Discussion

In examining the findings from each of the individual studies, three significant themes emerged: race as an asset, the permanence of racism, and the connections that educators of color have established with the Cityside Public School District. The themes were determined as a result of each researcher presenting the findings from their individual study during a group discussion. This lead to an analysis of data that focused on finding common themes that resonated in each of the six studies. The themes are presented in each of the headings in the following section. Although the CRT tenet permanence of racism serves as a heading, it was also utilized to explain how the construct of race was considered in each of the aforementioned three themes. In addition, the CRT tenets of counter storytelling, whiteness as property, and critique of liberalism were also used to explain how the construct of race was considered in each one of the themes.

Race as an Asset

Educators of color in CPS view their race as beneficial in a number of ways. Specifically, these benefits positively impact their relationships with students and with adults. Related to the students, educators of color often mentioned being a role model to them in various ways and they highlighted their culturally responsive approach to student discipline. And, with fellow educators, race was significant in mentoring, professional networks, and the evaluation process. The following sections will present in more detail how educators of color experienced the assets of their race.

Race as an asset in relationships with students.

Role model for students. Educators of color made numerous comments related to being a role model for students. When analyzed, these comments were grouped as follows: the sense

of satisfaction in being a role model; the importance of students seeing people like them (or not like them); and, providing career-related examples for students.

Satisfaction. In hearing counter narratives of the educators of color who were interviewed, it was clear that there was a true sense of satisfaction in being an educator who was also a person of color. Connie, an African-American teacher, stated this well when she said, "I think it does the students a good service, in that they're seeing educators of color standing before them. That is gratifying to me." It was Connie's sense of pride to be standing before students of color, not only as a teacher of color, but also as a role model and exemplar for her students of color that was notable. Connie's experience of being a role model for students of color is an example of how Black teachers serve as needed role models for Black students as well as non-Black students (Graham, 1987). Other teachers similarly used the words "wonderful," "happy," and "empowering" when they talked about the satisfaction they gained from being role models to their students.

The importance of students seeing people like them (or not like them). Of the 25 educators of color interviewed, almost all participants used the phrase, "someone who looks like me" at some point during their interview. The value that the educators of color placed on students of color seeing them was unquestioned. What was also expressed by some was the value that all students gain from seeing people of color as their teachers. As discussed in Chapter 1, the work of Stewart et al. (1989) and Egalite et al. (2015) support the concept of the positive influence of same-race role models.

When interviewing about pre-service experiences, Sonya, a Black Latina teacher, even discussed the importance of seeing people who looked like her with regard to her experience as a person of color in her graduate program. She said, "I knew the people in the food service staff at

[university name omitted] because they were the only people that looked like me." Her awareness of her connection to them is just what the educators of color reported about their presence in Cityside. Succinctly, Pia, a biracial teacher, asserted: "I'm sure for some of them it's wonderful to see a teacher that looks like them in front of them."

Carlos, a Black teacher, made the point that is well supported in research by Irvine (1988) and Branch (2001) that it is not only students of color who benefit from an educator of color in front of them, but it is all students who benefit: "I'm happy to be a role model for students of color. I'm happy to be a role model for all students." Another study participant shared, "I have to be conscious of reaching out to White students in the school … because if not, they just think of me as the teacher that just services [students of color]." An administrator of color shared how students were interested in learning more about him after meeting with a group of students in an organized after school program. "It was interesting having the conversation. They were very interested in my background and what brought me to this position."

Providing career-related examples for students. Taking their impact a step further, the educators of color who were interviewed also talked about their presence being one that could eventually lead their students into the field of education (or other fields). In terms of the impact of educators of color in the classroom, Pia expressed the perception that students have not seen many educators of color in that profession, so her presence was especially important:

> For students that have primarily seen people of color … predominantly as assistants, or support staff ... to see teachers in a lead role that are of color sends an empowering message - that we're leaders. ... It's all about perception. So, ... when what you see, especially in your formative years, is people of color always in a subservient or an assistant role, you can't help but create this notion that, 'Oh, White people know what

> they're talking about,' or, 'Black people, you always see them deferring to the White leaders in the classroom.' You know? It sends a really harmful message.

More simply, Fernando, a Black educator, describes a similar feeling: "I'm here to show these kids … there are different kinds of teachers." Furthermore, Carlos believes that as a teacher of color he models to students of color that they can aspire to be professionals: "It possibly will give students of color the feeling [that] they can be in a role such as a teacher or another positive career choice that they may not see daily, especially if the person in front of them does not look like them." So, the impact of educators of color is not just to present an image, but to also present an aspiration.

Culturally responsive discipline. Cityside Public School educators of color suggested that their educator-student relationship impacts school discipline. Findings revealed that some educators of color may be better suited to interpret certain student behaviors as an expression of one's culture rather than as an example of misbehavior. Scott, an African-American male educator, uses his racial background and experience to empathize with Black male students, "I know how to deal with my Black scholars. I know how they are feeling because I have been there as a Black male." As a result of this cultural understanding, educators of color may be better able to establish positive relationships with students of color. Moreover, there was a perception that these established relationships underscore a commitment by educators of color to create and maintain a school culture that is positive and affirming. The nature of the educator-student relationship may be highlighted in the use of newly adopted discipline practices, such as restorative justice. The process of restorative justice considers the "reintegration, dialogue, collaboration and mutual respect" in managing discipline issues (Simson, 2014). Additionally,

Simson (2014) argues that restorative justice aligns with the principles of CRT and is more "conducive to creating nurturing, safe and inclusive school environments."

Taken together, the educators of color who were interviewed described many ways in which their race was an asset in their dealings with students. From being a professional to whom to aspire, to representing a supportive, familiar face to students during the discipline process, the educators of color were certain of their impact. It was evident that these educators gained satisfaction from being such an important figure to their students.

Race as an asset in relationships with adults.

Social networks. Networks among educators of color appeared to play a significant and positive role in helping educators of color find jobs in Cityside. Several study participants discussed how their direct and indirect connections with teachers and administrators from CPS helped them develop a social network that they utilized during the recruitment and hiring process. Angelica, Donna, and Paula shared how they used their connections and social networking to look for new jobs when they were leaving their former districts. Angelica, an African-American teacher, described how she relied on networking with educators of color when she needed to find a new job:

> A friend of mine who happened to know our [current] assistant principal, mentioned to her that she knew me, [a teacher] looking [to transfer to another] school. Then we connected, and I submitted my application and interviewed, and I'm here.

When Donna, a Black educator, needed to part ways with a school system she had been in for three years, she recalled Fred, an educator of color with whom she had connected during a professional development training at the start of her time in the district. Since that time, Fred had moved on to a principalship in Cityside. Donna explained:

> I called Fred and nothing in life happens by chance. It just so happened he was looking for a [licensed practitioner]. I literally ran here with the phone while talking. It's like you start working with someone, and you feel like you could have run and then it ended. When I got the opportunity, I just couldn't believe it. That's how I ended up here, working here.

Paula, an African-American teacher, learned of her current job through her landlords, who happened to be the aunt and uncle of her current school leader who also identifies as African-American. Paula shared:

> So actually, when my first husband moved here we lived in an apartment that belonged to Halle's [current principal's] aunt and uncle. And the landlord was like, "Oh, my niece is going to try to be a principal at the school," because she was at [name of school] . . . "So she's looking for teachers." So I interviewed here and took the teacher's test the same month, I think the same day or the same weekend. And that's how I got the job here.

Paula's story, as well as the stories of Angelica and Donna, clearly illustrate the power of personal connections in support of career advancement. Their experiences support the work of Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn (1981) who found that job seekers' use of weak ties can impact their ability to connect with an insider contact of high status, who in the case of this study is a Cityside building principal. Also, their hiring scenarios support the findings of Mouw (2002) who countered previous researchers' claims that Black workers are disadvantaged when they rely on informal networks to find a job.

Additionally, Cityside administrators shared perspectives that supported these educators' of color positive networking experiences. For example, Cooper, a Black administrator, explained how he maintains relationships to utilize during the hiring process:

> I am also one who spends a lot of time informally connecting with folks at churches, community groups, and I will try to maintain relationships with educators at schools across the state. And my feelings about this are that the recruitment is not just about we have a position that's opening [so] let's go out and find someone, but more about managing relationships and having open communication with folks. … So I have not done job fairs. Primarily, it's really been informal networks and word of mouth.

While Andrea, an African-American administrator, also shared how she utilized the connections and social networks of teachers in the building during the recruitment and hiring process, "being able to bring in [to Cityside Public Schools] some additional Black male educators was super, [and this] . . . expanded networks because they brought their own networks of people." Thus, both Andrea and Cooper gave a nod to the reality and effectiveness of same-race social networks (Green, Tigges, & Diaz, 1999; Stainback, 2008), as had Paula, Angelica, and Donna.

Mentors. Another way that educators of color experienced their race as an asset was through informal and formal mentoring. One teacher of color highlighted the support she received from her "aunties," who were other Black teachers who were supportive and embraced her. Olivia, an African-American teacher, shared:

> I had so many people that took me under their wing, like just old-school teachers. They got me involved in the union. They would say, "Look, you've got to do this. You can't be late to the meeting because you're the only black person on staff. They're going to notice you're not there.

Olivia also explained how her relationship with an administrator prompted her to get her Master's degree:

> I had an administrator, she was African-American, and she said look what you are doing here, you're a single mother, you have three kids. They were all under four, and she said 'look, you have got to go get your Master's. She talked to me differently, she was the one who really broke it down, this is what you need to do to stay in the job.' And that really helped. She would push me, she kept pushing. And I feel a lot of educators of color do not get that.

Olivia noted that colleague connections were not limited to only teachers of color, "You've got to find someone you trust, whether a person is Black, White, or whatever, and tell them what's going on with you so you can get support."

Evaluator/educator relationships. Race positively impacted how educators of color experienced the evaluation process in CPS. Connie shared how her current evaluator, who is a person of color, is familiar with the culture of the district and is someone who understands her role as a teacher:

> Most recently, I feel personally, for the evaluator that I have currently, it's been a fair evaluation. …She understands the population which I'm serving. When she comes in, it is non-judgmental, because she was in the teaching field for quite a long time right here in Cityside, so I think that makes a great difference.

While Craig, a Black Latino teacher, emphasized how he benefited from both African-American mentors and his current evaluator in helping him to understand the evaluation process, "…basically Black colleagues helped me. And also, my evaluator is straightforward. … He's very black and white, says, 'this is what I want.' He outlines everything and does it." Additionally Walter, a Black African-American administrator, spoke to how he valued the

relationship he has with his supervisor, which impacts how he experiences the evaluation process:

> I think that she is culturally competent, and that she does a great deal to make sure she gets to know the individuals she works with, and I think that she's done that with me, so that I feel very, very comfortable being vulnerable and honest.

Permanence of Racism

Along with experiences in which participants viewed their race as an asset, they also cited examples in which they felt the symptoms of racism while serving in their respective roles. Based upon the definition of permanence of racism, the experiences shared by participants can be attributed to implicit bias and/or overt acts of racism. Despite the distinction of how racism is manifested, the impact on each one of the participants reinforces the notion that racism is a normal part of our society (Ladson-Billings, 1998; López, 2003). Specific factors that contributed to the perceptions of each one of the participants include feelings of isolation, disrespect stemming from microaggressions, and a feeling of having to work harder than their White peers. Within this section, the aforementioned themes are discussed with regard to how they were revealed in various parts of the educator pipeline and schools within Cityside.

Isolation. In answering the overarching research question for our group study, we found it was not uncommon for study participants to feel isolated and disrespected because of their status as a racial minority, an example of where the CRT tenet of permanence of racism intersects Whiteness as property. Several teachers of color, when reflecting on their experiences in Cityside schools gave vivid descriptions on what it felt like to be one of the only people of color in their working environment. Olivia stated: "Sometimes you can feel so alone." An Asian educator commented, "I do wish that I saw more Asian people on staff, though. I think it

feels more comforting to see more people that look like me." Also, the feeling of aloneness came from a lack of positive contact and genuine support from colleagues. Reflecting on her first job [within CPS], Olivia, recalled: "My first job was at the [school name], which no longer exists. I was the only Black teacher there for years, and I was the youngest, and there was no mentoring." Olivia's experience of being left to fend for herself was echoed by several others as they also addressed the stress they experienced as members of a majority White school staff.

The feeling of isolation also impacted whether or not educators of color asked for assistance. Craig shared that he was hesitant to ask colleagues for help with the evaluation process because he did not want to appear incompetent as one of the only African-American teachers in his setting. He described his feelings by stating:

> … It's pretty much trial and error, and it's kind of that time, it's that thing where you're going in blindly and people are kind of second guessing. So only imagine if you're a teacher of color, or you're a Black teacher and you're the only Black teacher in the whole school, you don't want to show others that you're incompetent. So, it's kind of the type of thing like you want to ask but you really don't want to ask. Is that what is expected from me, and I'm supposed to know this as a professional? Because if you don't want to look as if like … you don't know what you're doing as a professional.

Pre-service. Sonya shared that she did not feel connected to the students in her college program, "I will say I think it was very difficult for me to adjust … I felt very disconnected." The feeling she expresses is supported in the work of Souto-Manning and Cheruvu (2016) who interviewed four teacher education candidates of color at predominantly White institutions on multiple occasions. They illuminated the need for school leaders to consider the belonging that people of color feel within their universities and specifically the

schools of education. They report that people of color in schools of education experience a feeling of exclusion in all aspects of their schooling, from class discussions to student-teaching placement. The value placed on Whiteness within an educational institution (the CRT tenet of Whiteness as property) is collateral that cannot be underestimated (Brown, 2014).

For Sonya, the lack of connection to her classmates made the relationships to her professors very important:

> I feel like … they looked out for me. I was identified as a student that was struggling to meet the timelines, passing in my assignments. I had a lot of issues just like with my management. But I really do think that they were very accommodating. So yeah, I feel like I was very supported...by the staff.

Further, it was the guidance of an undergraduate professor who helped Sonya navigate the steps necessary to enroll in a graduate program. She commented specifically how "connections with my professors … help[ed] me with the application process."

Diego, a Black teacher, had a stronger sense of belonging at the same university that Sonya attended because of the cohort-based program in which he was enrolled, yet he still recognized his minority status. He shared that he felt "very optimistic. Very hopeful. I wasn't unaware of being part of the lowest demographic." Therefore, Diego now strives to ensure that as a Black educator he can create "that belonging, not only for the students, but also for the adults" with whom he works.

Disrespect/microaggressions. Furthermore, the feeling of aloneness by Cityside educators of color could be attributed to negative interactions they had with families and colleagues that were, in essence, racial microaggressions. This counter narrative told by an Asian-American educator vividly illustrates a racial microaggression that the educator

encountered and it captures, in full, elements of what several other interviewees experienced while in Cityside:

> I think for some of our White parents, our more entitled parents, it's usually pretty shocking for them to meet me. That's just par for the course for me now. … I'll still get the, oh you're the [educator] or even if I've been emailing with that parent, they see my title, I had a parent see me, they kind of did a double-take and they weren't sure who I was. I walked them to my office, they stopped and looked at the name card outside, but still had to ask twice what is your position again? Asked me how long have I been here? Where did I go to school? I get that a lot. I get that a lot which has been incredibly frustrating.

Angelica refers to a time when her White evaluator, exhibited low expectations for the students of color that she is responsible for teaching. To support her belief, Angelica gives an example of a goal she set to raise the writing growth of her boys of color on an IEP to 75% on the two major essays for the year. She states that her evaluator balked at the idea by stating, "Don't you think that is a lofty goal?" Her evaluator further stated that, "… It's ok if you do not reach everyone, it's not a reflection upon you." This statement left Angelica to wonder:

> Do I tell her… 75, a C on a paper is a lofty goal for Black boys? Why isn't your response, 'What are you going to do to get there?' What is the plan?' But your first reaction was, "Oh, that seems kind of high. It's okay that we don't reach them.

She further discussed how someone should have a conversation with her evaluator about her implicit bias and how it is impacting her expectations about students of color.

Examples of racial microaggressions surfaced throughout the counter narratives that came to light in all six of the individual studies. These microaggressions, defined by Sue et al.

(2007) as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color because they belong to a racial minority group" (p. 273), are examples of how the CRT tenet of permanence of racism is exemplified in the day-to-day experiences of these educators of color.

Work harder. Two educators of color made specific note of their belief that they needed to work harder than their White colleagues. Whether it was the need for particular attention to detail or a feeling that they represented their race in whatever they did, the need to present themselves in a certain way based upon their race was on their mind. It is this type of thought process that underscores how the permanence of racism and implicit bias can result in educators of color believing that they have to overcompensate when they work in an environment in which they are underrepresented.

Olivia described her early experience as an educator in Cityside this way: "I just always felt the expectations were higher for me, in terms of me being able to be successful, … because I started teaching at a time when I was expected to sink or swim." She went on to talk about how she sees the need to attend to every detail:

> I've always felt that I had to work harder than everyone else. I've always felt that I had to watch my back, that I had to make sure that I crossed my T's and dotted my I's. So I've always, always kept my paper trail. I never ignore anything in writing, positive or negative.

Other educators who were interviewed also expressed a clear sense that their actions were perceived as ones that represent their race. For example, Angelica made this point when she said:

> I think everything I do has to be purposeful. It feels like it has to be purposeful and calculated because whether I choose to admit it or not, or others choose to admit it or not,

> I make moves on behalf of my race, and what I do and my ability to do my job I think impacts another person's ability to come into the school and continue the work that I started or others have started. So it just feels … a bit like I come in and there is a load I carry and I have to be careful in things that I do, in everything that I do.

Olivia echoed Angelica's thoughts in talking about her drive for perfection based upon her race:

> I had to be better than everyone else. I can't make the same mistakes everybody else makes, because I will get called on it more than other people would. … And I feel that I have to go above and beyond to show that I'm compassionate and I have higher expectations and that I'm a professional.

Finally, Angelica articulated well a dilemma she acknowledges regarding the source of her struggles:

> As a Black educator, it's hard to draw a line between the struggles I face because teachers have struggle[s] … or is it a struggle I face because [I am] a black woman [and] … there's an additional role I'm expected to play or there's an additional step I need to take to prove my competence … that my colleagues who are not of color don't have to go through, hoops that they don't have to jump through to get the same things done.

These narratives shared by participants in this section build off biases related to actions of people who are not White, accentuating the value our society places on Whiteness and the negative impact of the permanence of racism in the form of racial stereotyping (Harris, 1993; López, 2003). What Olivia and Angelica describe points to the dominant image of a successful teacher. Simply put, it is one who can navigate a system where Whiteness is capital.

Overall, the two themes described in the aforementioned sections reveal how educators of color who work in Cityside perceive their race as an asset and how the symptoms of racism

impact their daily experiences. District administrators can use these findings to emphasize the importance of building social networks for educators for recruiting and combating the feeling of isolation. Other efforts should include that exploration of how the presence of microaggressions, and implicit and explicit bias can hinder efforts to create an environment in which access and equity is the priority.

Connectedness to District

The narratives of educators of color who were interviewed shared how the school community and culture impacted their experience as educators of color in CPS (Ladson-Billings, 1998). When providing details about working in the district, administrators and teachers gave specific reasons as to why they prefer working in Cityside. The reasons included the diversity of the student population, same-race administrative support, feeling a sense of belonging, level of compensation, and access to resources.

For example, Carla, an Asian teacher, noted that she values working for CPS and linked this sentiment to a sense of belonging as a result of the diverse student population:

> I do feel like I belong here more than other school districts that I've been in. I've been at [neighboring school district] and [neighboring school district]. I think this school is really diverse. It's one of the most diverse schools in the nation, and I do feel like I connect with the students more than I do with a majority White high school. I'm not sure why that is. I think it's myself, not being from here, I can relate to a lot of that . . . I think Cityside is a really good district. The pay is good. I student taught here. I think the biggest thing was that I did feel like I belonged here in a certain way, more so than I did at other schools. The diversity definitely played a role. It was probably the biggest factor to be honest.

Participants also valued the connections created with their administrators. Paula stated that sharing the same cultural background with both of her administrators influenced her decision to stay in her current role when her school transitioned from a K-8 school to a K-5 school: "We have two African-American leaders… That's why I won't leave here. I'm staying right here." Paula's response confirms findings from a study conducted by Ingersoll (2006) which lists administrative support as a contributing factor to job satisfaction. Sharing the same cultural background as her two administrators influences Paula's decision to stay in her present school. She noted that it also helped to alleviate the stress of the evaluation process. Additionally, Craig shared his experience with his administration. He stated, "So I met the principal and the vice-principal, and then I just had that feeling. I had that connection, like, oh, this is such a good district." Ma and MacMillan (1999) found that teachers who believed they had a strong relationship with school administrators also had a higher job satisfaction.

It was not just teachers who felt a sense of belonging or connection with the district, administrators also spoke about the support and opportunities that Cityside has been able to provide. For instance, Cooper focused on the vast amount of resources available in Cityside as one of the main reasons for his preference:

> I think in terms of educators in general, for Cityside district, I think it's the notion of this district being resource rich. The fact that folks have opportunities to receive so many supports and I think there is this attraction to, particularly for folks who still want to have that urban experience of being able to say, 'Hey, I'm in an urban or semi-urban environment, but not at a place in which there's a lack of access to resources in terms of professional development, technology, and all of that stuff.'

While Erica, an Hispanic administrator, focused on the manner in which she felt accepted and valued based upon her ethnicity and her bilingualism:

> Here in Cityside, I'm still the only administrator that can speak Spanish and make that phone call, but I'm surrounded by administrators [and] evaluators that understand the strength in that - that kind of asset of being bicultural. [I appreciate] working in a district where it's not that it's an expectation, but it's a real value and norm. … It kind of normalizes who I am.

Erica concluded, "Here in Cityside ... I'm not negatively affected in the slightest bit by who I am and what I am. I love this place, and I think the district values who I am." Also, Halle, an African-American administrator shared:

> I think there are personal connections that make you want to come and talk with people, do this work with people. You appreciate conversations, feedback and just the relationship. I think that's been enormous and just sort of this urgency around ensuring that kids of color have the right educational footing to begin their journey. That keeps me coming back every single day.

Furthermore, Paula powerfully and succinctly stated, "I'm satisfied with where I work and the kids I have in front of me. … I have no desire to teach anywhere else." Finally, teachers also shared experiences about encountering families in the Cityside neighborhoods where students live and visiting families' homes. The supportive connections with families were reinforced in the job satisfaction survey as well; 91% of teachers believed that parents support the work educators do in school.

Participants in this study value access to professional development, leadership opportunities, resources, and feeling appreciated due to their ethnicity. As mentioned before,

when speaking about creating connections and relationships, participants commented how feeling connected to the school and the district helps them feel supported. Additional factors that contributed to the feeling of connectivity included sharing the same cultural background as a supervisor and the diverse student population of Cityside.

Recommendations for Practice

The findings of the six individual case studies included in this research study informed the following recommendations, which fall under the theme of culturally proficient practices.

Culturally Proficient Practices

Educators of color interviewed in this study articulated that cultural proficiency practices differ from building to building and there is a need for greater uniformity and consistency across the district. Areas of need that fall under this theme include the exploration of implicit racial bias, recruitment and hiring, affinity work groups, and professional development. In order to address implicit bias and expand upon the work the district has begun with regard to the above-mentioned areas, it is highly recommended that Cityside continue its commitment to the allocation of fiscal resources for this important work.

Implicit racial bias. To address the implicit bias referred to by the participants in this study and to increase culturally proficient practices, it is recommended that the district explicitly recognize that the work of increasing cultural proficiency is the shared responsibility by all stakeholders. In response to developing a shared responsibility, the district can identify tools to assess their current practices. The data collected from using such tools should be reviewed, disaggregated and communicated to all stakeholders in the district. As a result, subsequent discussions can lead to a collaborative effort that explores implicit bias.

Recruiting and hiring educators of color. While Cityside maintains a goal to increase the diversity in their educator workforce to 30%, specific areas were identified for improvement. Interview data supports that active recruitment of educators of color is taking place in some of the schools within the district. However, participants confirmed that this active recruitment is not taking place in all schools throughout the district. Findings suggest that a subset of administrators of color and a selected number of White administrators may be the catalysts for the recruitment through their use of social networking. Thus, all administrators should explore the practice of tapping into various networks that are likely to identify candidates of color to fill vacant positions within the district. Given that social networks are frequently racially segregated, White administrators will need to communicate with administrators and educators of color to identify which networks will lead them to a robust pool of candidates of color during the recruitment and hiring process.

It is also recommended that the newly hired diversity director work closely with building based administrators to ensure that the district recruitment and hiring practices are being consistently implemented. This includes the district's expectation that all hiring administrators submit a list of candidates for a particular position to verify that a certain percentage of candidates are educators of color.

We further recommend that CPS consider how they articulate their stated commitment to hire more educators of color. It is not simply to increase the number of educators of color or to race-match student demographics, but rather it is also to improve the learning environment for all students by tapping into their professional repertoire and rich cultural background, and their unique ability to serve as role models for all students.

Affinity work groups. It is also recommended that CPS create opportunities for educators of color to interact with each other thereby eliminating the feeling of isolation that was expressed by a critical number of study participants. While it appears that there are opportunities for social networking amongst Black educators in the district, it is recommended that these social networking opportunities be expanded to include other educators of color who are from a different racial and ethnic group.

Professional development. Cityside's administration has shown a commitment to a culturally responsive learning environment, as evidenced by Cityside's strategic plan that includes "expanding rigorous, joyful, culturally responsive learning experience for all students." This work is reflected in the cultural proficiency professional development opportunities provided for faculty discussed previously. While this work is considered important by the study participants, it is not sufficient to address the complex topic of race. Due to the urgency of addressing race, we recommend that district administrators prioritize professional development opportunities that explicitly focus on race and how to conduct conversations about race with an emphasis on ensuring that educators of color are not solely responsible for enhancing cultural proficiency in the district.

Connections and relationships with students. Some educators of color acknowledged their confidence with building strong connections with students of color, yet they struggled in building those same relationships with White students. It is recommended that professional development opportunities include a focus on building trusting relationships with all students regardless of racial and ethnic backgrounds. These conversations will increase cultural awareness, the understanding of racial and ethnic differences, and decrease the tendency to make judgments based upon stereotypes and misinformation.

Culturally responsive pedagogy. Many educators of color specifically addressed how their racial and/or ethnic identity influences their instructional practices. As an example, one biracial educator articulated that she strives to build greater understanding of diversity within the curriculum and instructional materials to which she exposes her students. She spoke of how she intentionally creates opportunities for students to experience more cultural diversity in the texts they read in class and highlights the racial and/or ethnic background of authors and characters to promote conversation of diversity that includes all students in their classroom. We recommend that the district analyze the curriculum and instructional practices used to ensure there is an understanding of racial and/or ethnic backgrounds and cultural differences to help students set higher academic expectations for themselves without losing a sense of their cultural identity.

Culturally responsive discipline. Some interviewed participants discussed their impact on discipline and found that they were able to respond more appropriately to certain behaviors, especially of students of color. In addition to the above recommendation related to connections and relationships with students, it is recommended that CPS broaden its implementation of restorative justice practices to manage student discipline across all school levels. We further recommend that CPS develop a system to track discipline referrals to identify trends that may lead to changes in practice.

Mentors. Experiences of existing CPS educators of color indicate that strengthening the practicum student to employee relationship can be a successful way to increase the number of educators of color in CPS, make for a smooth transition, and increase retention. Drawing upon their existing relationships with university schools of education, CPS should examine ways to strengthen its recruitment of practicum students of color into the CPS schools. Further, in addition to formal culturally proficient professional development, we recommend that the district

provide job-embedded professional development that includes assigning mentors of color for pre-professional teachers as well as other educators of color.

Evaluation. An analysis of Cityside's evaluation process suggests that all administrators who are responsible for evaluating personnel participate in cultural competency training to reflect on their own personal biases related to race. A notable number of participants in this study expressed a concern as to whether or not their White evaluators understood who they were as individuals and their mission to service the students of color present in their classrooms. A further recommendation includes a focus on how evaluators frame their feedback that exhibits an understanding of the challenges that face educators of color and the students of color they serve in their classrooms.

Equity audit. In order to address the inherent racial bias found within Cityside's policies, systems and structures, it is recommended that Cityside conduct an equity audit. The educators of color interviewed demonstrated a passion for providing counter narratives to combat stereotypes and low expectations for students of color and they should be seen as beacons for other educators. Conducting an equity audit will provide opportunities to capture the voices of Cityside educators of color through the use of surveys, interviews, and focus groups. It must not be overlooked that institutional racism and bias exists in the structure of Cityside's school policy development, implementation, and oversight. Policies and practices identified by this study includes hiring, mentoring, discipline, instructional practices, educator evaluation, and retention.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

Recognizing the inherent limitation of a case study involving only one site and due to the limited sample size in this study, the ability to generalize some of the findings across the Cityside district as well as to other school districts in Massachusetts is difficult. This research

group acknowledges the limitation of deriving implications from a study that interviewed 25 educators of color (14 of whom identified as Black or African-American) and three White educators, administered the MEIM to 24 interview participants, and surveyed 40 educators of color on job satisfaction, all of whom work in the same district. However, the findings derived from the six individual focus areas strongly illuminate the importance of addressing racial disproportionality in the educator workforce and offer implications for changes needed in policy, practice, and future research.

A goal of our study was to identify further research needed to address and narrow the racial disproportionality of the educator workforce that exists within public schools across the United States. The need for additional research to understand how educators of color develop strong nurturing relationships with students grew from this study. In addition, further research is necessary to identify elements that contribute to a safe and supportive workplace environment for educators of color. There is a significant gap in research on racial and ethnic identity and its direct impact on student achievement, necessitating further research in this area. Furthermore, while there is a plethora of research to support the disproportionate discipline of Black and Latino students, there is limited research addressing the biases in discipline policy and practice implementation.

A future study recommendation is to implement a similar study with all educators in the district to compare how all educators have experienced teacher preparation, recruitment and hiring, racial identity, student discipline, evaluation and overall job satisfaction. This could allow researchers to see the overall strengths and challenges of the district, as seen by all educators, and compare the experiences of educators based on race. A broader study like this could also allow researchers to analyze the impact of having a same-race principal or principal of

color versus a White principal for educators of color. A similar study, including a job satisfaction survey and exit interview, focused on educators who recently left the district could also be implemented to learn how these educators experienced working for the district and how their experiences impacted their decision to leave the district.

Conclusion

At the beginning of our study, we sought to answer the research question, how do educators of color experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools? The findings from this case study helped to identify some best practices for teacher preparation programs, hiring and retaining educators of color, the impact of racial and ethnic identity on students and student discipline practices, educator evaluation, and increasing educator satisfaction. Additionally, findings included educators' perceptions of the presence of racial bias in teacher preparation programs, district hiring practices, school climate and culture, classroom instruction and evaluation practices. This study illuminated how educators' racial and ethnic identity influences students as well as the overall climate and culture of the school. Recognizing the urgency of this work, it is anticipated that this study will benefit practitioners as it directly relates to the work of the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE) to develop a more diverse educator workforce in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and add to the scholarly discourse on how educators of color perceive and experience the racial disproportionality that exists within the hiring pipeline and schools.

Endnotes

a. I use the terms "teachers/educators/students of color" to refer to non-white individuals.

b. I define the educator pipeline to be the path that educators travel that results in their career as an educator; it includes educator retention.

c. Stainback (2008) defines race/ethnic matching as "the process by which job seekers are connected to jobs where most of the workers are of the same race/ethnicity" (p. 858).

d. "According to the aversive-racism perspective, many people who explicitly support egalitarian principles and believe themselves to be nonprejudiced also unconsciously harbor negative feelings and beliefs about blacks and other historically disadvantaged groups" (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2000, p. 315).

e. Sue et al. (2007) defines racial microaggressions as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color because they belong to a racial minority group" (p. 273).

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Appendix A

Abstract for Charles Drane's Individual Study

Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color: The Perceptions of Educators of Color with Respect to their Pre-service Preparation

Even before working in school as a teacher or administrator, many factors were influential in the preparation process. Given that the vast majority of teachers in the workforce come from traditional university education programs, the role that schools of education play in graduating people of color to enter the teaching force is important to examine. This qualitative case study sought to answer the following research question: What are the perceptions of educators of color with respect to their pre-service education preparation? This study falls within a broader study on the overall perceptions of educators of color with respect to the racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. Both from literature and the counter narratives of these educators of color, these topics emerged as salient: the racial diversity of universities and schools of education, the impact of barrier exams, the curriculum of schools of education, and the sense of belonging of people of color in universities and their schools of education. Semi-structured interviews with 12 educators of color in the Cityside Public Schools were examined through the lens of critical race theory (CRT). Findings supported what was found in the literature regarding demographics in schools of education not favoring people of color, exams required to get into school of education being barriers, and people of color feeling disconnected from their universities in a number of ways. Further, participant interviews revealed the additional barrier posed by exams needed to gain teaching certification, the substantial value of connections at various points throughout the pre-service experience, and how important practicum and internship experiences are to aspiring educators.

Appendix B

Abstract for Nancy Robbins Taylor's Individual Study

Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color:

The Perceptions of Educators of Color about Discipline and Race in the Cityside District

This qualitative case study sought to understand the perceptions of educators of color on the role of race in student discipline in a Massachusetts Public School District. This individual study is part of a larger group case study designed to understand the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. Research has noted the role of racial disproportionality in school discipline for decades. Understanding the perceptions of educators of color regarding such disproportionality were evaluated with attention to critical race theory (CRT). Such perceptions were uncovered through interviews during which members shared their personal backgrounds and experiences. Data collection also included a review of district discipline data reported to the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE). Findings evidenced that educators of color interviewed believe in the importance of educator-student relationships and viewed their race as a valuable asset in their work with students involved in disciplinary actions. The results of this study indicated that by virtue of their race and cultural experiences, educators of color provide strong and influential role models for students. Recommendations include recording, disaggregating, and analyzing student discipline data with a focus on race and supporting the current effort to increase the number of culturally proficient educators of color in the District.

Appendix C

Abstract for Joan M. Woodward's Individual Study

Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color:

Perceptions of the Impact of Their Racial and/or Ethnic Identity on Their Work with Students

Research has indicated that hiring and retaining educators of color can positively impact students of color, as educators of color have the capacity to be social justice change agents (Villegas & Davis, 2007), serve as strong role models for students of color (Ingersoll & May, 2011), promote culturally responsive curriculum (Ladson-Billings, 1995), and positively impact student achievement (Ahmad & Boser, 2014; Dee, 2004). However, there is a significant gap in the existing research on how educators of color perceive the impact of their racial/ethnic identity on their work in the classroom. This qualitative case study sought to answer how educators of color perceive the impact of their racial and/or ethnic identity on their relationships with students, their instructional practices, and the reduction of cultural bias in their school. It was part of a larger group case study that sought to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. Data was collected through semi-structured face-to-face interviews and the administration of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure protocol with educators of color in the Cityside Public School District. Data was examined through the lens of critical race theory (CRT), specifically the tenets of permanence of racism, critique of liberalism, and counter storytelling. Findings support that the majority of the participants interviewed have a strong sense of belonging to their racial and/or ethnic group. Moreover, educators of color perceive that they serve as positive role models, provide students of color with culturally responsive pedagogy, and offer counter narratives that combat stereotyping.

Appendix D

Abstract for Roderick V. MacNeal, Jr.'s Individual Study

Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color:

The Evaluation Process and Educators of Color

The purpose of this individual study was to address the gap in research and answer the following research question: How do educators of color perceive the evaluation process and its impact on their growth and development? It was part of a larger case study that sought to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to the racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. As educators of color work to maintain a presence within the educational system, it is essential to study how perceived biases related to race may impact the evaluation process. This single case study attempted to capture how five administrators of color and five teachers of color employed by the Cityside Public School District perceived the evaluation process used within their district. Additionally, a document review of union contracts was used to ascertain the evaluation process used by Cityside. The critical race theory tenets of permanence of racism, counter storytelling and critique of liberalism provided a theoretical framework to analyze the responses given by each participant who participated in semi-structured interviews. Findings reveal that the majority of the participants do not believe the evaluation process has improved their growth and development. Other findings revealed that the racial identity and the level of cultural competency of the evaluator impacted whether or not participants believed their race was a factor in how they were evaluated.

Appendix E

Abstract for Diana Guzzi's Individual Study

Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color:

Job Satisfaction of Teachers and Administrators of Color

This individual study was part of a larger group case study that sought to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools in the Cityside Public Schools (pseudonym). The purpose of this study was to identify factors that influence job satisfaction for teachers and administrators of color and how teachers and administrators of color perceive how these factors might influence their job retention. This study included both teachers and administrators of color from one urban school district in Eastern Massachusetts, the Cityside Public Schools (CPS). Data sources included 11 semi-structured interviews with educators of color and 40 completed Likert scale surveys measuring job satisfaction and retention. The data was collected during one month. All data was coded thematically using three levels of ecological framework, as well as factors that contribute to job satisfaction and retention. The interview data was coded first, and then the survey data was coded. The data was coded using identified themes from previous research, as well as new themes that emerged from the interviews. All the data was then combined and synthesized to determine findings and make recommendations. This study found that many of the Cityside participants were satisfied with their job, while still recognizing that their work is challenging. Factors that influenced their job satisfaction were embedded in themes of connections, support, racial identity, resources and fatigue. These factors, except for the last, predicted slightly higher rates of perceived retention within the district among the teachers of color than the administrators of color.

Appendix F

Cityside Public School's Participant Recruitment Email

PLEASE SEE THE FOLLOWING TIME SENSITIVE INFORMATION FROM [NAME], DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT.
THANK YOU.

Good morning colleagues.

I am pleased to share with you that CPS is partnering with a team of Doctoral Students from Boston College who are currently researching a range of elements associated with the topic of Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color.

During this first week of November, each CPS educator who has self-identified as a person of color is receiving both information about the research project and contact information if interested in participation in the study.

As stated by the B.C. Team: *The purpose of our group study is to explore how educators of color experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. Specifically, we will consider the perceptions and experiences of educators of color related to their pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, job satisfaction, student discipline, racial/ethnic identity, and the evaluation process. We use the conceptual framework of Critical Race Theory to guide our study.*

The Survey/Interview window for interested CPS Educators will take place between November 6-12.

Thank you in advance for your attention to this endeavor,

A copy of your invitation to participate in this research project is included below.

Please feel free to contact me directly if you have any questions prior to responding to the Boston College research team.

[Name]
Deputy Superintendent
Cityside Public Schools
[Name] Street
Cityside, MA [zip code]
[phone number]
[fax number]
[email address]

Appendix G

Boston College Research Study Invitation and Information Recruitment Email

Dear Cityside Public Schools Educator,

A research team from Boston College is engaged in a project to study the experiences of educators of color. Simply stated, the disproportionality that exists between the number of educators of color and students of color is alarming and demands attention. Our study looks to draw upon the actual experience of educators to help us form recommendations to address this issue.

Because our work relies on the experiences of educators in the field, our main source of data will come from interviews. We are reaching out to you, as an educator of color, to inquire whether you would be willing to participate in a 60-minute interview. Prior to the interview, you would also be asked to complete a survey, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), to provide the interviewer with context for the interview. The Cityside Public Schools is aware of our commitment to maintain the confidentiality of those who are willing to participate. At no time will you be identified individually, but the collective experience will generate a rich source of data.

If you are willing to participate, we ask that you email me at dranec@bc.edu and we will follow up with more details and work to schedule a mutually convenient time. We appreciate in advance your consideration of this request.

Whether or not you wish to participate in an interview, we would welcome your participation on a job satisfaction survey. Please click this link https://bostoncollege.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_9tWHmAzMKVqUKrj to begin the survey.

Sincerely,
Charlie Drane
Boston College
Lynch School of Education
Chestnut Hill, MA 02446
dranec@bc.edu

Appendix H

Online Job Satisfaction Survey

You are being asked to participate in a research study about how educators of color experience the racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. You were selected to be in the study because you self identify as being an educator of color or non-white educator. All educators of color from your district, including faculty and administrators, are being invited to participate in this survey. The survey should take you approximately 15-20 minutes to complete, depending on how much you choose to share. The online survey includes questions about factors that contribute to job satisfaction as well as your short-term and long-term professional goals. There are no direct benefits to you, but you may feel gratified knowing that you helped further work in this important area. In terms of risks, the survey may ask questions that you consider sensitive. If you don't wish to answer a question, you need not do so. The study may include risks that are unknown at this time. There is no payment or compensation for participating in this study. There are no costs to you associated with your participation. All reasonable efforts to keep your responses and your identity confidential will be made. The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we may publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. All electronic information will be secured using a password protected file. Please note that regulatory agencies, the Boston College Institutional Review Board, and Boston College internal auditors may review research records. Your participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate it will not affect your relations with Boston College. You are free to withdraw or skip questions for any reason. There are no penalties for withdrawing or skipping questions. The lead researcher conducting this survey is Charles Drane. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact him at: dranec@bc.edu. The Boston College faculty advisor for this study is Lauri Johnson, lauri.johnson@bc.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Office for Research Protections, Boston College, at 617-552-4778 or irb@bc.edu. This study was reviewed by the Boston College Institutional Review Board and its approval was granted on [insert approval date]. If you agree to the statements above and agree to participate in this study, please press the "Consent Given" button below.

○ Consent Given (1)

1. How do you classify your current position?

○ Teacher (1)

○ Administrator (e.g. principal, assistant superintendent) (2)

○ Other professional staff (e.g. counselor, curriculum coordinator, social worker) (3)

2. How many years have you been working in the district?

○ 0 - 3 years (4)

○ 4 - 9 years (1)

○ 10 - 15 years (2)

○ 16 or more years (3)

3. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about your current position?

Strongly agree=1 Somewhat agree=2 Somewhat disagree=3 Strongly disagree=4

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
I am satisfied with my salary. (1)	○	○	○	○
The level of student misbehavior in the school (such as noise, horseplay or fighting in the halls, cafeteria or student lounge) interferes with my teaching. (2)	○	○	○	○
I receive a great deal of support from parents for the work I do. (3)	○	○	○	○
Necessary materials such as textbooks, supplies, and copy machines are available as needed by the staff. (4)	○	○	○	○
Routine duties and paperwork interfere with my job. (5)	○	○	○	○
Rules for student behavior are consistently enforced by teachers. (6)	○	○	○	○
In the school, staff members are recognized for a job well done. (7)	○	○	○	○
I am worried about the security of my job because of the performance of students on the state and/or local tests. (8)	○	○	○	○

State, district or local content standards have had a positive influence on my satisfaction with my job. (9)	○	○	○	○
I am given support I need to support students with special needs. (10)	○	○	○	○
The amount of students' tardiness and class cutting in the school interferes with my job. (11)	○	○	○	○
I am generally satisfied with being a teacher/administrator at the school/district. (12)	○	○	○	○
I make a conscious effort to coordinate with others. (13)	○	○	○	○

4. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement of the following statements?
Strongly agree=1 Somewhat agree=2 Somewhat disagree=3 Strongly disagree=4

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
The stress and disappointment involved in the job aren't really worth it. (1)	○	○	○	○
The educators like being here: I would describe us as a satisfied group. (2)	○	○	○	○
I like the way things are run at the school/district. (3)	○	○	○	○
If I could get a higher paying job, I'd leave as soon as possible. (4)	○	○	○	○
I think about transferring to another school/district. (5)	○	○	○	○
I don't seem to have as much enthusiasm now as I did when I first began. (6)	○	○	○	○

5. Indicate the level of importance each of the following play in your decision to remain in your current position.
Very important=1 Important=2 Somewhat important=3 Not at all important=4

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Convenience of school/district location (1)	○	○	○	○
Retirement benefits (2)	○	○	○	○
Salary (3)	○	○	○	○
Health benefits (4)	○	○	○	○
Job security (5)	○	○	○	○
Satisfaction of my job description or assignment (e.g. responsibilities, grade level, or subject area) (6)	○	○	○	○
Autonomy in my job (7)	○	○	○	○
Students (8)	○	○	○	○
Number of intrusions in my job (9)	○	○	○	○
Working for this school/district (10)	○	○	○	○
Workplace conditions (11)	○	○	○	○

Student discipline (12)	○	○	○	○
Influence over policies and practices (13)	○	○	○	○
Opportunities for leadership roles or professional advancement (14)	○	○	○	○
Student assessment/school accountability (15)	○	○	○	○
Support for preparing students for assessments (16)	○	○	○	○
Opportunities for professional development (17)	○	○	○	○
Opportunities for learning from colleagues (18)	○	○	○	○
Social relationships with colleagues (19)	○	○	○	○
Recognition and support from administrators (20)	○	○	○	○
Safety of environment (21)	○	○	○	○
Professional prestige (22)	○	○	○	○
Procedures for performance evaluation (23)	○	○	○	○

Manageability of workload (24)	○	○	○	○
Ability to balance personal life and work (25)	○	○	○	○
Availability of resources and materials/equipment for doing your job (26)	○	○	○	○
General work conditions (27)	○	○	○	○
Intellectual challenge (28)	○	○	○	○
Sense of personal accomplishment (29)	○	○	○	○
Opportunities to make a difference in the lives of others (30)	○	○	○	○

6. Have you enrolled in graduate courses since the end of last year?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Skip To: 8 If Have you enrolled in graduate courses since the end of last year? = No

7. Which of the following best describes your enrollment in courses?

○ Individual courses (not part of a program leading to a degree or certificate) (1)

○ Master's degree granting program (2)

○ Education specialist or professional diploma program (at least one year beyond Master's level) (3)

○ Certificate of Advanced Graduate Studies Program (4)

○ Doctorate or professional degree granting (Ph.D., Ed.D., M.D., J.D., D.D.S) ? (5)

8. How long do you plan to remain in your current position?

○ As long as I am able (1)

○ Until I am eligible for retirement benefits from this job (2)

○ Until I am eligible for retirement benefits from a previous job (3)

○ Until I am eligible for Social Security benefits (4)

○ Until a specific life event occurs (e.g. parenthood, marriage) (5)

○ Until a more desirable job opportunity comes along (6)

○ Definitely plan to leave as soon as I can (7)

○ Undecided at this time (8)

9. In the last 12 months, have you applied for a job in attempt to leave the position?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

10. Overall, how satisfied are you as an educator in this district?

○ Very satisfied (1)

○ Satisfied (2)

○ Somewhat satisfied (3)

○ Not at all satisfied (4)

○ Other (5)

11. How do you identify racially and/or ethnically?

☐ Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others (1)

☐ Black or African American (2)

☐ Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others (3)

☐ White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic (4)

☐ American Indian/Native American (5)

☐ Mixed; Parents are from two different groups (6)

☐ Other (write in) (7)

Appendix I

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure
Phinney, J. (1992)

You are being asked to participate in a research study about how educators of color experience the racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. You were selected to be in the study because you self identify as being an educator of color or non-white educator. All educators of color from your district, including teachers and administrators, are being invited to participate in this survey. The survey should take you approximately 10-15 minutes to complete, depending on how much you choose to share. The online survey includes questions about your race, ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it. There are no direct benefits to you, but you may feel gratified knowing that you helped further work in this important area. In terms of risks, the survey may ask questions that you consider sensitive. If you don't wish to answer a question, you need not do so. The study may include risks that are unknown at this time. There is no payment or compensation for participating in this study. There are no costs to you associated with your participation. All reasonable efforts to keep your responses and your identity confidential will be made. The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we may publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. All electronic information will be secured using a password protected file. Please note that regulatory agencies, the Boston College Institutional Review Board, and Boston College internal auditors may review research records. Your participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate it will not affect your relations with Boston College. You are free to withdraw or skip questions for any reason. There are no penalties for withdrawing or skipping questions. The lead researcher conducting this survey is Charles Drane. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact him at: dranec@bc.edu. The Boston College faculty advisor for this study is Lauri Johnson, lauri.johnson@bc.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Office for Research Protections, Boston College, at 617-552-4778 or irb@bc.edu. This study was reviewed by the Boston College Institutional Review Board and its approval was granted on [insert approval date]. If you agree to the statements above and agree to participate in this study, please press the "Consent Given" button below.

○ Consent Given (1)

1. Choose the phrase that best indicates how much you agree or disagree with each statement.
Strongly agree=1 Somewhat agree=2 Somewhat disagree=3 Strongly disagree=4

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs. (1)	○	○	○	○

I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group. (2)	○	○	○	○
I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me. (3)	○	○	○	○
I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership. (4)	○	○	○	○
I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to. (5)	○	○	○	○
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group. (6)	○	○	○	○
I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me. (7)	○	○	○	○
In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group. (8)	○	○	○	○
I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group. (9)	○	○	○	○
I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs. (10)	○	○	○	○
I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group. (11)	○	○	○	○

I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background. (12)	○	○	○	○

2. My ethnicity is:

○ Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others (1)

○ Black or African American (2)

○ Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic (3)

○ American Indian/Native American (4)

○ Mixed; Parents are from two different groups (5)

○ Other (write in) (6)

2b. Your ethnicity:

_____

3. My father's ethnicity is:

○ Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others (1)

○ Black or African American (2)

○ Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic (3)

○ American Indian/Native American (4)

○ Mixed; Parents are from two different groups (5)

○ Other (write in) (6)

3b. Your father's ethnicity:

_____

4. My mother's ethnicity is:

○ Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others (1)

○ Black or African American (2)

○ Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic (3)

○ American Indian/Native American (4)

○ Mixed; Parents are from two different groups (5)

○ Other (write in) (6)

4b. Your mother's ethnicity:

_____

Appendix J

Interview Protocol for Pre-service, Recruiting and Hiring

Opening Reminders

Opening reminders of practices we will remember when collecting information in the interview.

- We will be recording this interview.
- At any time of this interview you can request that I turn off the recording device.
- After collecting our data we will ensure that schools and/or leaders are not being identified individually.
- The data we collect from this research project will eventually be shared with your central office. However, at no time will your individual responses be shared with anyone in central office or your district's school committee.
- All interview questions are optional.
- At any time during the interview you can request to end the interview.

Introduction Questions

- Tell me/us about your role.
- How many years have you been in this role?
- What led you to your current position?
- What inspires you in this role?
- What do you find challenging in this role?
- This research focuses on the experience of educators of color. Do you feel comfortable identifying your race and/or ethnicity? If so, how do you identify racially and/or ethnically?

Questions for educators of color:

1. What path did you take to the field of education (i.e. university school of education, from the workforce, from an alternative certification program such as Teach for America)?

(Questions 2 - 6 are only for those who came from the university school of education path.)

2. How did your teacher education shape the educator you are today?

3. How would you describe the racial makeup of your school of education?

4. How, if at all, did your teacher education program address issues of race or culture?

    Prompt: Did you learn about specific strategies or curriculum for working with students of diverse racial and cultural backgrounds? If not, why not?

5. Were you required to pass an exam (such as Praxis I) in order to enroll in the school of education? If yes, how did you find the exam? How many attempts did it take for you to pass?

    Prompt: If MTEL was not mentioned, probe about experiences on the MTEL.

6. How would you describe the climate and your sense of belonging in the school of education?

    Prompt: If race was not discussed, probe about how race played into belonging.

7. How did you experience the recruitment and hiring process for Cityside?

    Prompt: How did you learn about the job opening?

    Prompt: If you attended a job fair, please describe this experience.

    Prompt: What factors contributed to your decision to apply?

    Prompt: Please explain the interview process (including hiring committee makeup, questions asked, number and types of rounds, etc.) in as much detail as possible.

    Prompt: What factors contributed to your decision to accept the job offer?

    Prompt: How, if at all, did the racial composition of the teaching force impact your decision to apply to Cityside and/or accept the job?

8. How did you prepare for the interview process?

    Prompt: Were there choices you made about your physical and/or oral presentation? If Yes, please describe.

    Prompt: How, if at all, did your race impact your physical and/or oral presentation?

9. What is your perception of Cityside's efforts to hire and support teachers and administrators of color?

    Prompt: Can you describe an instance when a job applicant's ethnicity/race made a difference (good or bad) during the recruiting and hiring process in Cityside?

10. Would you like to share any other relevant information?

Appendix K

Interview Protocol for Administrators: Recruiting and Hiring

Opening Reminders

Opening reminders of practices we will remember when collecting information in the interview.

- We will be recording this interview.
- At any time of this interview you can request that I turn off the recording device.
- After collecting our data we will ensure that schools and/or leaders are not being identified individually.
- The data we collect from this research project will eventually be shared with your central office. However, at no time will your individual responses be shared with anyone in central office or your district's school committee.
- All interview questions are optional.
- At any time during the interview you can request to end the interview.

Introduction Questions

- Tell me/us about your role.
- How many years have you been in this role?
- What led you to your current position?
- What inspires you in this role?
- What do you find challenging in this role?
- This research focuses on the experience of educators of color. Do you feel comfortable identifying your race and/or ethnicity? If so, how do you identify racially and/or ethnically?

Questions for administrators directly involved with hiring process:

1. What level of priority does Cityside give to hiring and recruiting educators of color?

   Prompt: (If high priority . .) What motivates you and/or Cityside to make this a priority?

2. Please describe the recruiting and hiring practices and policies utilized by your school/Cityside.

   Prompt: Please include a detailed description of the interview process (including hiring committee makeup, questions asked, number and types of rounds, etc.).

   Prompt: Which, if any, of these practices and policies are in place specifically to support the recruiting and hiring of educators of color. Please explain.

   Prompt: Which of these practices and policies do you believe to be the most effective for engaging candidates of color? Why?

3. Please describe your school's/Cityside's recruitment materials available to job applicants (e.g. brochures, website information).

Prompt: Which, if any, of these recruitment materials are designed and/or created to intentionally attract candidates of color? Please explain.

4. What are the characteristics of your school/Cityside that you believe candidates of color find the most attractive?

5. Please describe any anti-bias/diversity training that you have had.

Prompt: What year did training take place? Who sponsored it?

6. How, if at all, has this anti-bias/diversity training informed your hiring and/or recruiting efforts for your school/Cityside?

7. How successful do you feel that your school/Cityside has been in recruiting and hiring educators of color.

Prompt: What does your school/Cityside need to do differently to increase success?

8. Does your school/Cityside have any recruiting/hiring documents that I could access?

9. Do you believe that teachers are better prepared for the profession if they come from university teacher education programs, the workforce, or alternative programs (like Teach for America, for example)? Why?

10. Would you like to share any other relevant information?

Appendix L

Interview Protocol for Student Discipline and Student Impact

Opening Reminders

Opening reminders of practices we will remember when collecting information in the interview.

- We will be recording this interview.
- At any time of this interview you can request that I turn off the recording device.
- After collecting our data we will ensure that schools and/or leaders are not being identified individually.
- The data we collect from this research project will eventually be shared with your central office. However, at no time will your individual responses be shared with anyone in central office or your district's school committee.
- All interview questions are optional.
- At any time during the interview you can request to end the interview.

Introduction Questions

- Tell me/us about your role.
- How many years have you been in this role?
- What led you to your current position?
- What inspires you in this role?
- What do you find challenging in this role?
- This research focuses on the experience of educators of color. Do you feel comfortable identifying your race and/or ethnicity? If so, how you identify racially and/or ethnically?

Student Discipline:

1. Tell me about the discipline system in your district.

   Prompt: Does the district use any alternative discipline practices, such as a restorative justice approach or progressive discipline?

   Prompt: How does the district collaborate, if at all, with families to improve student behavior?

2. How, if at all, does the administrative team review discipline cases to look for patterns or trends?

   Prompt: Does the team consider race/ethnicity of the disciplinarian and the student when evaluating discipline data?

3. Do teachers of color and White teachers assess students' behavior differently? If so, how? How, if at all, does the district's code of conduct affect different racial groups of students?

   Prompt: Does the discipline code reflect an understanding of students with different cultural backgrounds and belief systems? (The "braid/hair extension" controversy at a charter school.)

Prompt: Do you work to understand the student's cultural background when providing him/her with due process?

4. Do you see any disparity in the rate or severity of discipline consequences assigned to students?

Prompt: Do you see a difference in the rate at which Black students are disciplined in relation to their White peers?

Prompt: Do students receive similar consequences for displaying similar types of behavior?

5. Do you have any concerns about the distribution of exclusionary discipline practices in this district?

Prompt: Are Black students assigned suspensions or expulsions at a higher rate when compared to their White peers?

Impact on Students:

6. Does your race or ethnicity impact the students in your classroom / school / district? If so, how?

Prompt: In what ways do you think your racial/ethnic identity drives the strategies you employ to teach/lead?

Prompt: How, if at all, has your racial/ethnic identify impacted cultural biases in the classroom/school/district?

7. Has race ever come up in your teaching experience? Tell me about it

Prompt: Has that impacted how you teach?

Prompt: What did you learn from that experience?

8. Does your school/district talk about race? If not, why not?

Prompt: How does it impact your teaching?

Prompt: What changes would you like to see in your schools/district?

9. How, if at all, does the fact you are a teacher of color influence your relationships with students of color? With White students?

Appendix M

Interview Protocol for Evaluation and Job Satisfaction

Opening Reminders

Opening reminders of practices we will remember when collecting information in the interview.

- We will be recording this interview.
- At any time of this interview you can request that I turn off the recording device.
- After collecting our data we will ensure that schools and/or leaders are not being identified individually.
- The data we collect from this research project will eventually be shared with your central office. However, at no time will your individual responses be shared with anyone in central office or your district's school committee.
- *Interview focus:* This interview will focus on your experiences with the evaluation process and overall job satisfaction.
- All interview questions are optional.
- At any time during the interview you can request to end the interview.

Introduction Questions

- Tell me/us about your role.
- How many years have you been in this role?
- What led you to your current position?
- What inspires you in this role?
- What do you find challenging in this role?
- This research focuses on the experience of educators of color. Do you feel comfortable identifying your race and/or ethnicity? If so, how you identify racially and/or ethnically?

Focus Questions

Evaluation Process

1. Please describe the evaluation process for this district.

2. How has the evaluation process impacted your growth and development as an educator? (Please, give examples)

3. What, if anything, would you change about the process?

4. How would you describe the impact, if at all, of your race/ethnicity on how you have been evaluated?

Job Satisfaction and Retention

1. How would you describe your overall job satisfaction?

   Prompt: What other factors contribute to your job satisfaction?

2. What, if anything, could improve your job satisfaction?

3. How do you think your race and/or ethnicity impacts your job satisfaction?

4. How long do you plan to work for the identified school district and in what capacity?

Closing Question and Remark

Is there anything else you would like to add regarding your experience as an educator of color within the school district?

Thank you for taking time to participate in our research. We value your input.

Appendix N

Educator of Color Consent Form

BOSTON COLLEGE
Lynch School of Education
Professional School Administrator Program

Research Study: Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color
Lead Researcher: Charles Drane

Individual Consent Form

Introduction:

You are being asked to participate in a research study about how educators of color experience the racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. You were selected to be in the study because you self-identified to participate in the research study as an educator of color who works within the district. Please read this form. You may ask any questions that you have before you agree to be in the study.

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of this single site case study is to explore and understand the experiences of educators of color in light of the persisting racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools in a Massachusetts district. The educator pipeline refers to the preparation, recruitment, professional experiences related to students and colleagues, and retention of educators. Specifically, we will consider the experience of educators of color and their perceptions related to pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, student discipline, their racial/ethnic identity as it impacts students, evaluation, and job satisfaction.

The research will be conducted in Cityside Public Schools (pseudonym) where 24% of its staff are educators of color. The staffing racial and ethnicity demographics do not reflect its student population which is 60% students of color. Faculty and administrators of color within this district will be invited to participate in this research, between 18-24 respondents will be self-identified to participate in semi-structured interviews. Additional building and district level administrators, including the Superintendent of Schools, Deputy Superintendent, Assistant Superintendents, Business/Finance Manager, Director of Human Resources, and Principals may be interviewed to address questions related to an area of the educator pipeline identified in this study.

What Will Happen in the Study:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to participate in one semi-structured interview facilitated by one or two of the researchers and complete a short survey. The survey, called the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), will only be used to provide context for

the interviewer and will not be shared with anyone outside of the research team. This interview will last up to one hour and take place in a mutually agreed upon location. It will be recorded.

Risks and Discomforts of Being in the Study:

There are no expected risks, however, there is a possibility that participants may share experiences that trigger discomfort or negative emotions. Participants will be reminded that they can choose not to answer a question for any reason and end the interview at any time. Thus, participants can choose not to reveal information that they feel is sensitive or uncomfortable. This study may include risks that are unknown at this time.

Benefits of Being in the Study:

The purpose of this single site case study is to explore and understand the experiences of educators of color in light of their persisting racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools in a Massachusetts district. The participants may derive some benefit from having the opportunity to discuss and reflect on their experiences and perceptions of racial disproportionality within the district. Further, the district may benefit from the information gleaned from the interviews and information gathered during this study. However, no benefit to the participants can be assured.

Payments:

There is no payment or compensation for participating in this study.

Costs:

There is no cost to you to be in this research study.

Confidentiality:

Participants' identity will remain anonymous throughout the research and reporting of this study. The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we may publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. All electronic information will be coded and secured using a password-protected file, this includes transcripts of interviews. Audio files will be deleted upon the completion of this study.

Mainly just the researchers will have access to information; however, please note that a few other key people may also have access. These might include the Institutional Review Board at Boston College and internal Boston College auditors. They have the right to review the research records.

Choosing to be in the Study and Choosing to Quit the Study:

Choosing to be in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to be in this study, it will not affect your current or future relations with the Cityside Public Schools (pseudonym) or Boston College. You are free to quit at any time, for whatever reason.

Getting Dismissed from the Study:

The researcher may dismiss you from the study at any time for the following reasons: (1) it is in your best interests (e.g. your identity cannot remain anonymous), or (2) you have failed to comply with the study rules.

Contacts and Questions:

The lead researcher conducting this study is Charles Drane (dranec@bc.edu). The Boston College faculty advisor for this study is Lauri Johnson, lauri.johnson@bc.edu. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact the lead researcher via email.

If you have any questions about your rights as a person in this research study, you may contact: Director, Office for Research Protections, Boston College at (617) 552-4778, or irb@bc.edu

Copy of Consent Form:

You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference.

Statement of Consent:

I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form. I have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to be in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Signatures/Dates

Study Participant (Print Name): _____ Date_____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date _____

Witness/Auditor (Signature): _____Date _____

Appendix O

Building or District Level Administrator Consent Form

BOSTON COLLEGE
Lynch School of Education
Professional School Administrator Program

Research Study: Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color
Lead Researcher: Charles Drane

Individual Consent Form

Introduction:

You are being asked to participate in a research study about how educators of color experience the racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. You were selected to be in the study because you are a building or district level administrator. Please read this form. You may ask any questions that you have before you agree to be in the study.

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of this single site case study is to explore and understand the experiences of educators of color in light of the persisting racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools in a Massachusetts district. The educator pipeline refers to the preparation, recruitment, professional experiences related to students and colleagues, and retention of educators. Specifically, we will consider the experience of educators of color and their perceptions related to pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, student discipline, their racial/ethnic identity as it impacts students, evaluation, and job satisfaction.

The research will be conducted in Cityside Public Schools (pseudonym) where 24% of its staff are educators of color. The staffing racial and ethnicity demographics do not reflect its student population which is 60% students of color. Faculty and administrators of color within this district will be invited to participate in this research, between 18-24 respondents will be self-identified to participate in semi-structured interviews. Additional building and district level administrators, including the Superintendent of Schools, Deputy Superintendent, Assistant Superintendents, Business/Finance Manager, Director of Human Resources, and Principals will be interviewed to address questions related to an area of the educator pipeline identified in this study.

What Will Happen in the Study:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to participate in one semi-structured interview facilitated by one or two of the researchers. This interview will last up to one hour and take place in a mutually agreed upon location. It will be recorded.

Risks and Discomforts of Being in the Study:

There are no expected risks, however, there is a possibility that participants may share experiences that trigger discomfort or negative emotions. Participants will be reminded that they can choose not to answer a question for any reason and end the interview at any time. Thus, participants can choose not to reveal information that they feel is sensitive or uncomfortable. This study may include risks that are unknown at this time.

Benefits of Being in the Study:

The purpose of this single site case study is to explore and understand the experiences of educators of color in light of their persisting racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools in a Massachusetts district. The participants may derive some benefit from having the opportunity to discuss and reflect on their experiences and perceptions of racial disproportionality within the district. Further, the district may benefit from the information gleaned from the interviews and information gathered during this study. However, no benefit to the participants can be assured.

Payments:

There is no payment or compensation for participating in this study.

Costs:

There is no cost to you to be in this research study.

Confidentiality:

Participants' identity will remain anonymous throughout the research and reporting of this study. The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we may publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. All electronic information will be coded and secured using a password-protected file, this includes transcripts of interviews. Audio files will be deleted upon the completion of this study.

Mainly just the researchers will have access to information; however, please note that a few other key people may also have access. These might include the Institutional Review Board at Boston College and internal Boston College auditors. They have the right to review the research records.

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Choosing to be in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to be in this study, it will not affect your current or future relations with the Cityside Public Schools (pseudonym) or Boston College. You are free to quit at any time, for whatever reason.

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Contacts and Questions:

The lead researcher conducting this study is Charles Drane (dranec@bc.edu). The Boston College faculty advisor for this study is Lauri Johnson, lauri.johnson@bc.edu. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact the lead researcher via email.

If you have any questions about your rights as a person in this research study, you may contact: Director, Office for Research Protections, Boston College at (617) 552-4778, or irb@bc.edu

Copy of Consent Form:

You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference.

Statement of Consent:

I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form. I have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to be in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Signatures/Dates

Study Participant (Print Name): _____ Date _____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date _____

Witness/Auditor (Signature): _____ Date_____

Appendix P

Recruitment and Hiring: Recommendations for Cityside District and School Leaders

Countering Implicit Racial Bias on Hiring Committees

• Have discussions about the role of implicit bias amongst all who oversee and participate on Cityside's hiring committees. In these discussions, make explicit the connection between the role of implicit bias as a potential factor hindering the district's stated goal of increasing its percentage of educators of color.

• Determine the most effective racial bias counter strategies and take concrete steps to implement these strategies. The work of Todd et al. (2011) on perspective taking, and the work of Rudman et al. (2001) that examines the impact of diversity training, are two places to start.

• For baseline data, keep track of, and analyze data gathered in response to these questions: 1) How many educators of color apply for each position? 2) What percentage of the educators of color that apply get interviewed, and of those who interview, what percentage get hired? 3) What are the reasons for individual educators of color not being granted interviews and/or not offered the job for which they applied?

• Ensure that their hiring committees are of diverse membership and of diverse perspectives so that biases are more likely to be challenged.

Increasing Reliance on Social Networks

• Establish and rely upon social networks during the recruitment and hiring process.

• Given that social networks are frequently racially segregated, White administrators should be guaranteed support from their non-White colleagues when recruiting candidates.

• All administrators should utilize networks that are likely to result in candidates of color from a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds.

Embracing Counter Narratives

• Actively seek the counter narratives of educators of color. It is essential that members of the majority race listen to stories, from all perspectives, in order to enrich their own reality.